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INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE MAUKHARĪS, LATER GUPTAS, PUṢPABHŪTIS AND YAŚOVARMAN OF KANAUJ

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Kiran Kumar Thaplyal

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KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

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Inscriptions of the Maukharīs, Later Guptas, Puṣpabhūtis and Yaśovarman of Kanauj

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

ICHR
INDIAN COUNCIL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
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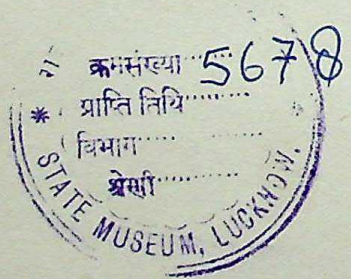

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Foreword

THE VALUE of inscriptions as a source of early Indian history is universally recognised. In fact, the epigraphic records scattered all over the country form a very important source of the political and Cultural history of India from the third century B.C. to the thirteenth century A.D. But for these inscriptions engraved on a variety of materials, mainly on stone and copper-plates, our knowledge of early history of India would have been perfunctory. The number of epigraphs noticed so far exceeds a hundred thousand, and a large majority of them afford valuable pieces of information not available from any other source. Noticed or published in numerous Indian and European periodicals devoted to orientology, in monographs and books, many of them long defunct or out of print, spread over last over a century and a half, this vast mass of scattered epigraphical wealth is not easily accesible to students of history. The necessity of bringing out properlyedited and handy compilations of inscriptions arranged chronologically and region-wise has been felt for a long time. As early as 1888 a volume comprising Gupta and allied inscriptions was released by the Archaeological Survey of India as the third volume of its prestigious *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series. It was followed by two other volumes comprising edicts of Aśoka and post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. In order to supplement the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series, the Indian Council of Historical research has launched upon an extensive programme of the publication of inscriptions dating from about the sixth to thirteenth century A.D., the chronological terminals being flexible according to regional requirements. Fortunately, the programme has made steady progress and some volumes have been completed and are ready for publication. More volumes are expected to be completed. I am confident that the publication of these volumes would be widely welcomed by the historians.

I am happy to place in the hands of historians the present volume on the inscriptions of the Maukharīs, Later Guptas, Puṣhpabhūtis and Yaśovarman of Kanauj by Dr. K.K. Thaplyal whose contributions in the field are fairly well known. I hope that it would be well received by historians in particular, and Indologists in general.

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Before I conclude I should like to place on record the Council's appreciation of the great pains taken by Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri, coordinator of the inscriptions project of the ICHR, for the furtherance of this programme.

New Delhi
10 December 1984

Lokesh Chandra

(LOKESH CHANDRA)
Chairman
Indian Council of Historical Research

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Preface

THE PRESENT volume purports to be a study of the epigraphs of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puṣpabhūtis and Yaśovarman of Kanauj, covering the period from early sixth century A.D. to the middle of eighth century A.D. The three dynasties noted above along with the Gauḍas vied with one another to fill the vacuum created by the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. The struggle for supremacy, at first, was mainly between the Later Guptas and the Maukharis, in which, for a time, the former had the upper hand but, later on, the latter gained supremacy. Subsequently, the Maukharis went down before the Gauḍas who, in their turn, were subdued by Harṣa, the illustrious Puṣpabhūti ruler. With the exit of Harṣa from the political scene, the Later Guptas regained ascendancy for a brief period until the meteoric rise of Yaśovarman of Kanauj who, by defeating and killing king Jīvitagupta II, virtually brought to extinction the rule of the Later Guptas. Yaśovarman's empire, too, was short-lived and came to an end with him.

A notable feature of the period is the gradual emergence of Kanauj as the nerve-centre of political power in northern India as also of art and culture, overshadowing Pāṭaliputra—the hitherto far-famed imperial seat and cradle of culture for about a millennium. It was also during this period that Nalanda with its towering buildings and galaxy of scholars, reached acme of its glory as a great seat of learning and education. The age also produced great men of letters like Bāṇa, the greatest Sanskrit prose writer, Bhavabhūti, the renowned playwright, and Vākpati the author of the *Gauḍavaho*. Another notable feature of the times was the close contact between India and China and frequent exchanges of embassies between the two countries. It was during this period that the famous Chinese travellers Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing visited India and toured the country extensively, leaving detailed accounts of their travels which throw light on the political conditions, religious life and culture of the people.

The present work was assigned to the author by the Indian Council of Historical Research and had to be prepared within its prescribed guidelines. The volume has two sections. Section I (Introduction) deals with the general features of the epigraphs—their material, language, script, contents, etc., and attempts to reconstruct the political history, polity and administration, as also the socio-economic conditions and religious beliefs and practices of the people. Section II has the texts of the epigraphs in Devanagari script. These, in each case, are prefaced by brief notices as to the provenance, language, metre, script, date and references to earlier works. Appended to each epigraph is an abstract of its text in English.

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Though keeping to a bare outline of political history of the dynasties under review would seem advisable, it has been thought expedient to deal with it in some detail. An important consideration that weighed with the author in this respect is the circumstance that, while the epigraphs provide a few details about the reign periods of some minor rulers, they give very little information about Harṣa and Yaśovarman—the two most important rulers of the period under study. In order to rectify this imbalance and present the political history of these rulers in a right perspective, it was deemed proper to supplement epigraphic evidence with the abundant literary source material at hand on these two illustrious kings.

Portions on polity and administration, socio-economic conditions and religious beliefs and practices are based almost entirely on the material culled out from the epigraphs. The treatment, however, is not dynasty-wise in view of the fact that the epigraphs provide very scanty information in regard to some dynasties and also because such treatment would involve overlapping and needless repetition.

Wherever historical evidence furnished by the epigraphs has looked controversial, literary and other bits of evidence bearing on the subject alongwith the views of different scholars thereon have been discussed in detail. Points calling for detailed treatment have been elaborated in the Appendices.

The epigraphs under study have been previously edited by Fleet (who edited the largest number), Bühler, Sircar and others. The present author has drawn upon these sources in a large measure both for the decipherment and interpretation of the inscriptions. Wherever letters in the published plates are indistinct and cannot be clearly made out, it has been deemed proper to go by the text deciphered by these scholars who had access to the original inscriptions. A few discrepancies in the readings of these scholars might infact be printing errors.

In the case of two or more epigraphs having wholly or partly identical texts, it should have sufficed to give the text of the first one only, and refer to it or the relevant lines of the text while dealing with the others. But this procedure has not been adhered to in all cases. For example, the extant portion of the text of the much-worn and partly illegible Sonpat seal inscription of Harṣa is identical with the clearly legible text of the Nalanda seal, line by line. Hence the text of the Nalanda seal only has been given. In the case of the Banskhera and Madhuban plates, however, though certain portions of their texts are almost identical, it has been deemed proper to give the text of both the plates in full, as there are marked differences in orthography and arrangement of lines.

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The scheme of diacritical marks used in the work has been indicated separately. These marks have, however, not been used in the case of present-day geographical and personal names.

The work was submitted for publication several years back and new material and interpretations have come forth since then. Two inscriptions bearing on the history of the Maukharis may particularly be mentioned. One is the Shankarpur (M.P.) Inscription of the time of king Budhagupta, referring to *Mahārāja* Harivarman (identifiable with the Maukhari homonym) and his three predecessors, all *mahārājas*, and has a bearing on the origin and early history of the Maukharis. Its text and abstract have been given as Appendix in section II. Aanother inscription, on a seal-matrix from Kanauj, which is the only epigraph of the Maukharis from that site, supports the generally accepted view that the city of Kanauj was the Maukhari capital. The partially restored text of the epigraph has been included.

The author is grateful to Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri, Co-ordinator of the inscription programme of the Council for his valuable suggestions regarding its general layout and for the photographs prepared under his supervision; to Shri J.P. Misra for his suggestions bearing on political history; to Shri S.B. Bahuguna for suggestions regarding improvements in language of Section I; to Dr. A. K. Kalia for his help in determining the metre of the verses; and to Dr. S. P. Shukla for going through some proofs. He acknowledges the useful help and cooperation rendered by his wife, Smt. Chandra Kala, in comparing the hand-scripts with type-scripts and in preparation of the Index. His thanks are due to the authorities of the I.C.H.R. and Agam Prakashan, the co-publishers of the volume and for co-operation and courtesy. However the author craves the indulgence of readers for the errors of omission and commission on his part and for theprinting errors.

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Scheme of Transliteration

The scheme of transliterating Sanskrit and Prākṛt words in Roman script is as follows :—

अ = a
आ = ā
इ = i
ई = ī
उ = u
ऊ = ū
ऋ = ṛ
ए = e
ऐ = ai
ओ = o
औ = au

क् = k
ख् = kh
ग् = g
घ् = gh
ङ् = ṅ
च् = c
छ् = ch
ज् = j
झ् = jh
ञ् = ñ
ट् = ṭ
ठ् = ṭh
ड् = ḍ
ढ् = ḍh
ण् = ṇ
त् = t
थ् = th
द् = d
ध् = dh
न् = n

प् = p
फ् = ph
ब् = b
भ् = bh
म् = m
य् = y
र् = r
ल् = l
व् = v
श् = ś
ष् = ṣ
स् = s
ह् = h
= ṁ
: = ḥ (विसर्ग)
= ḥ (उपध्मानीय)
= ḥ (जिह्वामूलाय)

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Abbreviations

ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona
ACS	*Antiquities of Chamba State*, by J. Ph. Vogel
AIHC	*Aspects of Indian History & Culture*, by Buddha Prakash
AISIHC	*Ancient India and South Indian History & Culture*, by S.K. Aiyangar
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
ASR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Reports*, by A. Cunningham
CCIM	*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, by V.A. Smith
CHB	*Comprehensive History of Bihar*, ed. by B.P. Sinha
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CLHAI	*Carmichael Lectures, 1918, Lectures on the History of Ancient India* by D.R. Bhandarkar
CMI	*Coins of Mediaeval India*, by A. Cunningham
DHM	*Dynastic History of Magadha*, by B.P. Sinha
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2 vols., by H.C. Ray
DKM	*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, by B.P. Sinha
EHNI	*Early History of North India*, by S. Chattopadhyaya
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
GD	*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by N.L. Dey
GE	*Gupta Empire*, by R.K. Mookerji
GP	*Gupta Polity*, by V.R.R. Dikshitar
GV	*Gauḍavaho*, by Vakpati, ed. by S.P. Pandit with notes by Utkigar
HB	*History of Bengal*, by R.C. Majumdar
HC	*Harṣacarita*
HC, CT	*Harṣacarita*, translation by E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas
HCIP	*History and Culture of the Indian People*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar
HHT	*Harṣa and His Times*, by B.N. Sharma
HHT	*Harshavardhana and His Times*, by B.N. Srivastava
HK	*History of Kanauj*, by R.S. Tripathi

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HMHI	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India.* by C.V. Vaidya
HNEI	*History of North-Eastern India*, by R.G. Basak
HRS	*Hindu Revenue System*, by U.N. Ghoshal
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IC	*Indian Culture*
IE	*Indian Epigraphy*, by D.C. Sircar
IHI	*Imperial History of India*, by K.P. Jayaswal
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
IHR	*Indian Historical Review*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
KMSA	*Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, by T.G. Aravamuthan
KURJ	*Kurukshetra University Research Journal*
Life	*The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui-li* (trans.) by S. Beal
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
NIHP	*New History of Indian People*
PC	*Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhācandra Suri
PHAI	*Political History of Ancient India*, by H.C. Raychaudhuri
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
Records	*Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols., by S. Beal
RT	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, by Kalhaṇa
RTT	*Raṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, by A.S. Altekar
SAI	*State in Ancient India*, by Beni Prasad
SGAI	*State and Government in Ancient India*, by A.S. Altekar

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SGAMI *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by D.C. Sircar

SHAIB *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, by B.C. Sen

SHK *Śri Harṣa of Kanauj*, by K.M. Panikkar

SI *Select Inscriptions, Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, by D.C. Sircar

UBRI *Uttara Bhārata Kā Rājanaitika Itihāsa* (Hindi), by V.V. Pathak

Watters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by T. Watters

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SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. The Epigraphs : Their Form and Character
II. Political History
III. Polity and Administration
IV. Socio-Economic Conditions
V. Religious Beliefs and Practices

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I

The Epigraphs : Their Form and Character

The chapter describes the material on which the epigraphs have been engraved, their language, orthographic peculiarities, general features of the contents, like the *maṅgala*, place of issue, date, the purpose of epigraphs, the donors and donees of the grants, purpose of the donation, benedictory and imprecatory verses, names of composers and scribes, and royal signatures, etc.

Material and size

The material on which the epigraphs under study are engraved is stone, clay or copper. Those on stone are either on the walls of caves[1], or on rocks[2], slabs[3], pillars[4], or on pedestals of images[5]. Copper inscriptions are either on plates[6] or seals[7]. As regards clay, the inscriptions are to be found on terra-cotta seals[8].

The length of the text in the epigraphs varies widely. The shortest[9] has two lines and the longest[10] as many as twenty eight.

Language

The language of all the epigraphs under study is Sanskrit. Instances of intermixture of Prākṛt words in the text, though rare, are there, e.g. *āgara*[11] (for

---

1. The Barabar and Nagarjuni inscriptions of Anantavarman Maukhari.
2. The two Mandar inscriptions of Ādityasena; the Kaulesvari inscription.
3. The Jaunpur, the Haraha, the Aphsad and the Mangraon inscriptions.
4. The Deo Baranark inscription.
5. The Shahpur inscription.
6. The Madhuban, Banskhera and the Katra plates. In each case there is only one plate, and these are all rectangular in shape.
7. The Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarman and the Sonpat seal of Harṣa. The seals are oval in shape and were, in all probability, originally attached to copper-plate grants, but somehow got detached from them; the plates have not been traced so far.
8. All seals of the Maukhari dynasty (with the exception of Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarman) and the Nalanda seals of Harṣa. All these terracotta seals are oval in shape.
9. Kaulesvari Hill Inscription.
10. Aphsad inscription.
11. Haraha inscription, line 11.

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ākara), *pramātāra*[1] (for *pramātṛ*), etc. The name Avimuktajja[2] also seems to be a Prākṛt form of Avimuktārya.

The epigraphs are either in prose[3] or in verse[4], or partly in prose and partly in verse[5]. A few epigraphs contain hyperbolic expressions. According to Fleet, the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena is perhaps 'the earliest instance of the hyperbolic expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them from the artistic, concise, dignified and frequently really poetic style of the more ancient records'[6]. The Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarman too is a *praśasti* drawn in florid Sanskrit.

Some orthographic peculiarities

Among the orthographic peculiarities to be met within the epigraphs is the doubling of some consonants in conjunctive with certain letters. Thus we have :—

(i) doubling of *k* in conjunction with the following *r* as in *vikkrama*[7], *kkrūra*[8], *cakkra*[9], *atikkrānta*[10];

(ii) doubling of *t* in conjunction with the following *r* as in *puttra*[11], *kṣattra*[12], *ātapattra*[13], *pittra*[14], *mittra*[15], *pavittri*[16], etc.

---

1. Banskhera grant, line 14; Madhuban inscription, line 17; Cf. Hindi *kartāra* for Sanskrit *kartṛ*.
2. Mangraon inscription, line 5.
3. All the seals of the Maukhari dynasty and of Harṣa, the Shahpur inscription, the two Mandar inscriptions and the Deo Baranark inscription are in prose.
4. The two Nagarjuni inscriptions, the Barabar inscription (except the opening symbol representing *siddham*), the Jaunpur inscription (extant portion), the Haraha inscription, the Aphsad inscription and the Nalanda inscription of Yaśovarman (except the initial symbol for *siddham* and the words *api ca* between the sixth and seventh stanzas) are in verse.
5. The Madhuban, Banskhera, Mangraon and the Katra inscriptions are partly in prose and partly in verse.
6. *CII*, III, 202.
7. Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription (no. 2), line 4.
8. Jaunpur stone inscription, line 5.
9. Haraha stone inscription, line 9.
10. In all the seal inscriptions of the Maukhari kings and also in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa. It is interesting that in the same epigraph consistency is not maintained in this respect. Thus while in the Madhuban grant there is doubling of *k* in *ekacakkra* (line 3) there is no doubling of *k* in *pravṛtacakra* (line 3).
11. Barabar hill cave inscription, line 1, Maukhari seal-inscriptions (different lines), Harṣa's Madhuban and Banskhera grants (different lines) and the Deo Baranark inscription (different lines).
12. Nagarjuni inscription, no. 1, line 1.
13. Aphsad inscription, line 21.
14. Katra inscription, line 14.
15. Mangraon inscription, line 3.
16. *Ibid.*, line 4.

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(iii) doubling of *d* in conjunction with the following *r* as in *upaddravair*[1];

(iv) doubling of *v* in conjunction with the preceding *r* as in *pūrvvottara*[2] and *vapurvvedhasā*[3];

(v) doubling of *m* in conjunction with the preceding *r* as in *dhāturmmaru*[4];

(vi) doubling of *b* in conjunction with the preceding *r* as in *nṛpatirbbabhūva*[5];

(vii) doubling of *g* in conjunction with the *preceding r* as in *mārgga*[6];

(viii) doubling of *dh* in conjunction with the following *y* as in *anuddhyāta*[7].

Some other orthographic peculiarities may also be detailed. Sometimes, though rarely, *ri* was substituted for *ṛ* as in *Riṣimitra*[8] (for *Ṛṣimitra*) and *dhrita* (for *dhṛta*)[9]. There is also an instance of the substitution of *ṛ* for *ri* as in *hṛyā*[10] (for *hriyā*). The practice of using *m* in place of *anusvāra* is also met with in some inscriptions as in *samvat*[11] (for *saṁvat*) *samviditam*[12] (for *saṁviditam*). This was obviously due to the popular pronunciation of the letter, as is the case even to day. Sometimes, in a line of verse or prose ending in *m*, *anusvāra*, instead of *m* (which is the correct form) has been used, as in *śriyaṁ*[13], *kāritaṁ*[14], *sampadāṁ*[15]. The use of *v* for *b* appears to have become very common during this period[16], as is evident from words like *vabhūva*[17], *lavdhaṁ*[18], *amvubhiḥ*[19],

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1. Jaunpur stone inscription, line 5.
2. Katra copper plate inscription, line 7.
3. Haraha incription, line 18.
4. *Ibid.*, line 10.
5. *Ibid.*, line 5.
6. *Ibid.*, line 7.
7. In different lines of the Nalanda and Asirgadh seal inscriptions of Śarvavarman and the Sohnag seal inscription of Avantivarman.
8. Deo Baranark inscription, line 15.
9. Haraha inscription, line 15.
10. *Ibid.*, line 8. This, as pointed out by Sastri, was intentionally done by the composer of the epigraph to meet the exigency of the metre.
11. Madhuban copper plate inscription, line 18.
12. *Ibid.*, line 10.
13. Nagarjuni inscription, no. 1, line 2.
14. *Ibid.*, line 4.
15. Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, line 2.
16. As Bühler remarks, 'no distinction is made between *ba* and *va*' as the two letters were pronounced in almost the same way as even to day.
17. Barabar inscription, line 4; Aphsad inscription, line 15.
18. Nagarjunī inscription, no. 2, line 5.
19. *Ibid.*, line 9.

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lavdhātmanā[1], *valādhikṛta*[2], *vivuddha*[3], *vibhrati*[4], *valino*[5], *vālāditya*,[6] *Kuṭuṁvinā*,[7] *vodhayati*,[8] *vodhi*.[9] Sometimes dental nasal (*n*) has been used instead of *anusvāra* before *s* as in *anśa*[10] and *hansa*;[11] or guttural nasal (*ṅ*) instead of *anusvāra* before *s* as in *aṅśu*;[12] or in place of *anusvāra* before *h* as in *siṁhāsana*.[13] Quite an interesting orthographic feature is the use of *ṁgh* for *ṁh* as in *saiṁghī*[14] (for *saiṁhī*). This shows that the present-day tendency of pronouncing aspirate *h* combined with a nasal (*ṁ*) like the aspirated guttural *ṅ* was in vogue. A parallel to-day is to be seen in the pronouncing of *siṁha* almost invariably as *siṅgh*.

The texts of the inscriptions show the use not only of *visarga* but also of *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya*, of which the latter two have now practically gone out of use. It is interesting to note that while the Asirgadh seal (line 7) and the Nalanda seal (line 7) of Śarvavarman have *upadhmānīya* between *utpanna* and *paramamāheśvara*, in case of the Sohnag terracotta seal of his son (line 7), there is no *upadhmānīya* sign between these two words.[15] The Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II has *ṣ* instead of *upadhmānīya* in *antaṣpāti*. In the Banskhera inscription we have *upadhmānīya*, in *mutpannaḥ parama* (lines 1 and 2), *kīrttiḥ pratāpa* (line 2), *haraḥ paramāditya* (line 3), *bhaktaḥ parama* (line 3), etc. In the same plate we also find the use of *jihvāmūlīya* when *visarga* is followed by *k* as in *Devaguptādayaḥ kṛtvā*. It must, however, be noted that the text of the Madhuban plate, which is for the most part identical with the Banskhera plate does not show the *upadhmānīya* or *jihvāmūlīya* sign in the same word-combinations.

Sometimes the rules of *sandhi* have been disregarded, as in *badhnaṁ naiva*[16] (instead of *badhnannaiva*), *Śrī Apsarodevī*[17] (instead of Śryapsarodevī),

1. Jaunpur inscription, line 1.
2. Shahpur inscription, line 3.
3. Aphsad inscription, lines 9, 11.
4. *Ibid.*, line 17.
5. *Ibid.*, lines 14-15.
6. Deo Baranark inscription, line 13; Nalanda inscription, line 19.
7. Mangraon inscription, line 5.
8. Katra inscription, line 9.
9. Nalanda inscription, lines 15 and 17.
10. Nagarjuni inscription, no. 1, line 5.
11. Deo Baranark inscription, line 14.
12. Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, line 2.
13. Haraha inscription, line 13.
14. *Ibid.*, line 2.
15. The plate does not show the words distinctly and this remark is based on the statement of Vats, the editor of the epigraph.
16. Haraha inscription, line 11.
17. Madhuban inscription, line 2,

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Śrī Ādityasena[1] (for *Śryādityasena*), *Śrī Ijjā*[2] (for *Śrījjā*), *Śrī Īśānavarmma*[3] (for *Śrīśānavarmma*). Certain ungrammatical word forms and expressions also occur. The Madhuban plate of Harṣa has, for instance, *Kuṇḍadhānī vaiṣayika* (line 5) for *Kuṇḍadhānī viṣayāntaḥpati*; *bhuktakaḥ* (line 10) for *bhuktaḥ*; *sarvaparihṛtaparihāraḥ* (line 11) for *parihṛtasarvaparihāraḥ*; *samakālīnaḥ* (line 11) for *samakālikaḥ*.[4]

Abbreviations

In some instances abbreviations have been used for names of months, dark and bright fortnights and for day. Thus we have *Kārtti*[5] for the month *Kārttika*, *Mārgga*[6] for the month *Mārgaśīrṣa*, *va*[7] (*ba*) for *Bahula* (i.e. dark fortnight), *śu*[8] (or at one place the corrupt form *su*[9]) for *Śukla* (bright fortnight) and *di*[10] for *divasa*.

Script

The epigraphs under study are written in late Brāhmī of the Northern Class, exhibiting developed *mātrās*.[10] The earlier forms of medial vowels rarely occur; and artistic flourishes and graceful curves predominate[11]. The epigraphs of Harṣa and those of the Later Guptas, and the Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarman have the 'acute-angled'[12] alphabet. The letters *va ta pa ma bha* etc., show a distinct standing curve at the right hand bottom. The letters in these epigraphs are quite close to the Nagari alphabet, into which they evolved some centuries later.

Some other features pertaining to scribing of letters and letter combinations may also be noted. Often *r* in combination with the following consonant

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1. Shahpur inscription, line 2; Mandar inscriptions, line 2; Deo Baranark inscription, line 2.
2. Deo Baranark inscription, line 5.
3. Nalanda and Asirgarh seals of Śarvavarman, line 6.
4. See Bühler, *El*, 1, 68.
5. The Banskhera plate of Harṣa, line 17.
6. The Shahpur inscription, line 2.
7. The Banskhera plate, line 17; Madhuban plate, line 18.
8. The Shahpur inscription, line 2; Mangraon inscription, line 2.
9. The Katra plate, line 19.
10. The Banskhera grant, line 17; Madhuban grant, line 18; the Shahpur inscription, line 2; Mangraon inscription, line 2; Katra inscription, line 19.
11. See particularly the Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarman and Mangraon inscription of Viṣṇugupta, (e.g. *me* in *parameśvara*, line 1; *po* in *tapovana*, line 2; *si* and *tī* in *siddhāyatana-tīrtha*, line 4, of the Mangraon inscription).
12. The nomenclature was suggested by Bühler. The alphabet is also called '*Kuṭila* type' which name "has come to be attached in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved or bent' to the right". (*CII*, III, 201).

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is formed on the line of writing,[1] instead of above as was the normal practice in earlier times. *Y*, when it follows upon another consonant, is denoted by the secondary subscript. Curiously enough, in certain cases the text of the same epigraph[2] has a few letters written at some places in their typical earlier forms while at others the same letters occur in their typically later-day forms. The size of the letters varied according to the writing space available as well as the whim of the scribe.[3]

Punctuation marks

Rules of punctuation have not been strictly adhered to. Some epigraphs do not bear punctuation marks[4] at all. In others that do, they have often been put rather casually, haphazardly and even wrongly. It is customary to punctuate second *pāda* of a verse with an *ardhavirāma* (half stop), and not to punctuate the first and the third *pādas*. In the Haraha and Aphsad inscriptions this practice has been generally adhered to. But, curiously enough, in some epigraphs the first[5] and third[6] *pādas* have the *ardhavirāma* at the end while at the end of the second *pāda* the punctuation mark has been omitted.[7] However, the fourth *pādas* of the verses in these epigraphs do bear the punctuation mark. Most of these verses have *pūrṇavirāma* at the end of the fourth *pāda*[8] in conformity with the usual practice, in a few cases, however, *ardhavirāma* has been substituted for *pūrṇavirāma*.[9] As to the shape of the punctuation marks, the *ardhavirāma* is shown either as a short horizontal stroke[10] or a vertical one,[11] while the *pūrṇavirāma* is almost invariably shown by double perpendicular lines.

Scribal corrections

Scribal errors are to be met with in some inscriptions. We have instances

1. E.g. Jaunpur inscription, *dorbhyāṁ* (line 1); *kīrtter* (line 4); *karairguṇairguṇavatāṁ* (line 5).
2. E.g. Katra inscription of Jīvagupta. For details see Sircar, *El*, XXXV, p. 126.
3. We may in passing note that a conjunct with vowel mark in the Kaulesvari inscription is as high as seven inches (*El*, XXX, 84).
4. E.g. all the seal inscriptions of the Maukhari kings and of Harṣa, the Shahpur inscription, the Mandar inscription and the Deo Baranark inscription.
5. E.g. Barabar inscription, verses 1, 2 and 3; Nagarjuni inscription no. 1, verses 2, 3; Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, verses 1, 2, 4, 5.
6. E.g. Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, verses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
7. E.g. Barabar inscription, verses 1 and 2 (It may be noted that the second *pāda* of the third verse has been punctuated with *ardhavirāma*); Nagarjuni inscription no. 1, verses 1 and 2; Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, verses 1, 3, 4.
8. E.g. All the the verses of Barabar inscription, and the two Nagarjuni inscriptions.
9. E.g. in the Katra inscription.
10. E.g. in the Barabar inscription, the Nagarjuni inscriptions (nos. 1 and 2), and the Haraha inscription.
11. E.g. in the Aphsad inscription and the Nalanda inscription.

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where spelling mistakes were corrected by the scribe either by rubbing off wrong letters, or by chiselling them out. In the Barabar inscription, line 2, the scribe first engraved *mūrtti*, but later on cancelled the medial *i*. In line 3 of the Madhuban copper-plate the scribe originally wrote *devyāmutpannaḥścatu*, but later on realised the grammatical mistake, and struck out the *visarga*; in line 5 of the same plate the scribe attempted to remove the vowel mark *i* in *draviṇa*, and in line 8 of the same plate the *i mātrā* in *ḍi* of *Somakuṇḍikā* has been struck out by him. It may be noted that in line 10 of the epigraph the name clearly reads *Somakuṇḍakā*, which would justify the correction made by the scribe earlier. It is difficult to say whether the scribes themselves detected the mistakes or they were pointed out to them by some one else.

General features of the contents

The epigraphs under study generally begin with some *maṅgala*,[1] most commonly with *siddham*,[2] which is generally depicted by means of a conventional symbol.[3] It is mostly placed at the beginning of the first line of the text of the epigraph, but sometimes we also find it placed at the commencement of some other line.[4] But even in the latter case it was obviously meant to be read at the beginning of the first line of the epigraph. In some epigraphs this symbol is followed by the word *svasti*.[5] The extant portion of the Deo Baranark inscription begins with *(na)maḥ*,[6] followed by the word *svasti*. In the Haraha inscription *siddham* (expressed by a symbol) is followed by an invocation to God Śiva, while in the Nalanda inscription by one to the Buddha.

Some epigraphs under study also mention the place of their issue. The Banskhera grant was issued from the victory camp at Varddhamānakoṭi, the

1. This was done with the belief that the symbol would ensure completion of the *praśasti* and its preservation.
2. See Barabar hill cave inscription of Anantavarman; the two Nagarjuni inscriptions of the same ruler; the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman; the two Mandar inscriptions ; the Banskhera and Madhuban copper plates of Harṣa and the Nalanda seal of that ruler; the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena; the Mangraon inscription of Viṣṇugupta; Katra copper plate inscription of Jīvagupta. Some scholars take this symbol to stand for *om*, particularly in view of the fact that Alberuni (Sachau, *Alberuni's India, i*, 173) has stated that the symbol at the beginning of inscriptions indicates *praṇava*, i.e. the sound *om*. However, it has been pointed out that the symbol was sometimes pronounced as *om siddhiḥ*, and Alberuni seems to have dropped out the latter word and retained only *om* (See Sircar, *IE*, 93).
3. The symbol *siddham* is sometimes represented by a crescent-like curved stroke opening towards the left with sign of nasalisation placed above it.
4. In the Barabar inscription of Anantavarman it is placed in the margin, opposite to the commencement of line 3.
5. E.g. Katra inscription of Jīvagupta.
6. A few letters before *(na)maḥ* have been lost. Due to fragmentary characters of the epigraph it is not possible to say as to whom the salutation is addressed.

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Madhuban grant from the camp at Kapitthikā, the Deo Baranark inscription from the camp situated near Gomatikoṭṭaka, and the Katra grant from the camp at Tārā (or Nārā).

Date

Only a few epigraphs bear date, and in none of them is the era specified. The usual procedure of dating is giving the *tithi*, the fortnight (dark or bright), the name of the month, and the year. The Banskhera plate is dated 1st day of dark fortnight of Kārttika, year 22; and the Madhuban plate, 6th day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, in the year 25.[1]

The Shahpur image inscription of Ādityasena is dated the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, year 66. The Mangraon inscription is dated the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, in the year 17, and the Katra plate, the . . . . . day (the numeral for *tithi* is missing) of bright fortnight of Caitra, in the year 2.[2] The Haraha inscription refers to the era (without mentioning the name) commencing from a particular season and gives the number of the year. All the dated epigraphs, except the Haraha inscription bear dates in numerals. The Haraha inscription is in verse and as such there was no scope for use of numerals in it, hence the date has been recorded in words. The dates 22 and 25 in the Banskhera and Madhuban plates respectively are obviously the two regnal years of Harṣa. But since the Harṣa era, in all probability, commenced from A.D. 606, the first regnal year of king Harṣa,[3] the dates in the two plates would come to A.D. 628 and 631 respectively. Since Ādityasena's father Mādhavagupta was in all likelihood a governor of Harṣa, the Shahpur image inscription of his (Ādityasena's) reign also seems to have been dated in the Harṣa era. The reference in the Haraha inscription to the era commencing from the *Śarada* season would indicate that the year 611 given therein should be taken as the year of the Vikrama era, since it is known that Vikrama era commenced from that season. The year 17 in the Mangraon inscription and the year 2 in the Katra inscription are obviously regnal years of the ruling sovereigns—Viṣṇugupta and Jīvagupta, respectively.

As for the numerals used in the epigraphs, there are separate symbols to denote numerals from 1 to 9, while 10 and multiples of 10 are expressed by symbols quite different from the units digits. For example, the numeral 22 in the Banskhera inscription is written with the symbol for 20 placed first, followed by a symbol for the units digit 2 (unlike the present system of writing, in which the digits have place value).

1. *Infra.*
2. The epigraph records that the grant of the village was made on *viṣuvat* (Saṅkrānti). The day must have been chosen because it was considered auspicious.
3. See Appendix 'Harṣa Era'.

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Purpose of the epigraphs

The epigraphs under study record variously grant of a village[1] (or villages) to Brāhmaṇas[2] or in favour of some deity,[3] construction[4] or renovation[5] of a temple, installation of the image of a deity,[6] provision for the burning of lamp in a temple,[7] endowments for the benefit of monks,[8] execution of works of public welfare like digging of tanks,[9] building of 'religious colleges'[10] and dwelling places for monks,[11] or opening of a *sattra*,[12] etc.[13] In the case of villages given away as grants, the location of such villages is generally specified by mentioning the particular *viṣaya* and *bhukti* in which they were situated.[14]

In a few cases the epigraphs also detail the circumstances that led the donors to make the grants or donations. The Haraha inscriptions narrates how prince Sūryavarman, while out on a hunting expedition saw a dilapidated Śaiva temple and decided to renovate it. The donations recorded in the Nalanda stone inscription were made by one Mālada while he was on a pilgrimage to Nālandā. Quite interesting are the circumstances in this regard narrated in the Madhuban copper plate of Harṣa. The grant of the village was restored to the rightful donees after taking it away from one Vāmarathya who enjoyed the

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1. Epigraphs pertaining to land grants are generally on copper plates as is the case with the Banskhera, Madhuban and Katra plates. However, an instance of a stone inscription dealing with the land grant is met with in the Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II.
2. *E.g.*, Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa. The *gotras* and the *caraṇas* of the Brāhmaṇas have also been mentioned (*ibid.*).
3. *Vide* the Nagarjuni inscription (no. 2); the Deo Baranark inscription, and the Katra inscription.
4. *Vide* Aphsad inscription.
5. The Haraha inscription refers to the renovation of a Śaiva temple.
6. The Barabar inscription: the Nagarjuni inscription (no. 1).
7. *Vide* Mangraon inscription.
8. *Vide* Nalanda stone inscription.
9. *Vide* Mandar and the Aphsad inscriptions.
10. *Vide* Aphsad inscription.
11. *Vide* Nalanda stone inscription.
12. *Vide* Kaulesvari inscription.
13. The Nalanda stone inscription also refers to the grant of pure cool water mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects, clarified butter and curds to monks. It also speaks of the offerings of rice preparations to them.
14. *E.g.*, village Markkaṭasāgara lay in the western *pathaka* of Aṅgadīya *viṣaya* of Ahicchatrā *bhukti* (Banskhera grant); Village Somakuṇḍakā lay in the Kuṇḍadhānī *viṣaya* of Śrāvastī *bhukti* (Madhuban grant); village Vāruṇikā in the Vālavī *viṣaya* of Nagara *bhukti* (Deo Baranark inscription); the villages (?) Surabhākra, Yāmyā and Harigrāma, in the north-eastern part of Tiṣṭihalapāṭaka of Cāmuṇḍā *viṣaya* of Tīra *bhukti* (Katra inscription).

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grant on the basis of a forged document.[1]

In the Deo Baranark inscription, we have an instance of the grant made by an earlier ruler being confirmed by some later rulers. The epigraph records that the grant of the village Vāruṇikā in favour of the Sun temple was originally made by Bālāditya of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, which was later confirmed by two Maukhari rulers Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, and also by the Later Gupta ruler Jīvitagupta II during their reign periods.

The donors

The donors of the grants or performers of acts of charity and piety referred to in our epigraphs are kings,[2] queens,[3] princes,[4] government officials[5] and private individuals.[6] In an epigraph recording a grant or donation made by a king, we generally find his genealogy as well.

The genealogies give the names of successive rulers, either singly or together with the names of their queens. In some cases, the titles of kings and queens are also mentioned. The epigraphs that are in verse give only the names of kings, while those in prose generally give the names of both the kings and their queens. The seal inscriptions of the Maukhari kings and Harṣa contain only the genealogy together with the epithets of the kings and queens. The Haraha and Aphsad inscriptions record the achievements of the kings in

1. Incidentally such epigraphic evidence makes us appreciate the injunction of the Smṛtis regarding the punishment of guilty for forgery of royal grants. It also makes us cautious to be sure that the grant is genuine before we take up its evidence for a reconstruction of history.
2. The Banskhera and Madhuban grants were made by king Harṣa. The Aphsad inscription records the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by king Ādityasena, and the Deo Baranark and the Katra inscriptions record the grants of villages by kings Jīvitagupta II and Jīvagupta respectively.
3. The Mandar hill inscriptions record the pious act of construction of a tank by Ādityasena's queen Koṇadevī, while the Deo Baranark inscription records the construction of a tank by the same queen as also the construction of a religious college by the mother of king Ādityasena.
4. The Barabar and Nagarjuni inscriptions record the installation of the images of certain deities by prince Anantavarman, and the Haraha inscription of the renovation of a Śaiva temple by prince Sūryavarman Maukhari.
5. According to the Shahpur image inscription, Sālapakṣa, who was responsible for the installation of the image, was a *balādhyakṣa* (general) of the Later Gupta king Ādityasena. Poyarāja, who provided for a *sattra* during the rule of Later Gupta king Viṣṇugupta, was perhaps a chieftain.
6. It is not known whether Mālada (son of Yaśovarman's minister) who made donations to the Buddhist *saṅgha* at Nālandā, also held any office. The donor of the Mangraon inscription, however, was definitely a private individual (a Śaiva devotee) not holding any office.

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genealogical sequence. Sometimes epithets like *paramabhāgavata*[1] (devout worshipper of Viṣṇu), *paramamāheśvara*[2] (devout worshipper of Śiva), *paramādityabhakta*[3] (devout worshipper of Sun), *paramasaugata*[4] (devout worshipper of Buddha) are affixed to the names, indicating the religious leanings of the rulers.

In no inscription, except the Haraha inscription (which speaks of the Maukharis as descended from king Aśvapati who obtained a hundred sons through a boon from Vaivasvata), is there any attempt at ascribing divine or semi-divine ancestry to the rulers by tracing their origin to gods or epic heroes—a practice quite commonly met with in the epigraphs of several dynasties.

It is interesting to note that while the *Harṣacarita* gives Puṣpabhūti as the name of the first ruler of the dynasty of that name and weaves a fantasy of myths round him, Harṣa's epigraphs make no mention of him in the genealogy. His epigraphs invariably mention Naravardhana as the first ruler of the dynasty. The Maukhari epigraphs also only refer to Yajñavarman as 'abode of (all) the dignity of one of the warrior caste',[5] making no claim to his descent from some god or mythical figure. The Aphsad inscription merely mentions the Later Gupta family as *sadvaṁśa*. Similarly, Mālada, the son of Yaśovarman's minister, is referred to in the Nālandā inscription only as of 'pure lineage' (*Viśuddhānvayaḥ*).

Purpose of the donations

These grants and donations were generally made with a view to earning religious merit for the donor, his parents and other relatives. The Banskhera and Madhuban grants were made by Harṣa for the increase of merit and fame of his deceased parents and elder brother. Likewise, the Shahpur image of the Sun god was installed for the increase of the merit of parents of the donor as well as of the donor himself. Similarly, the Nalanda stone inscription records the donations made by Mālada with a view to securing the welfare and long life of his parents, brother, wife, sister, son and friends, as also for the enlightenment of all beings. A note is also made in the inscription that the donations(made by Mālada) may be approved by the *saṅgha* so that human beings could cross the ocean of the world and attain *bodhi*. In the same way, the grant mentioned in the Katra inscription was meant for the increase of merit and fame of the parents of the donor.

1. E.g. for Ādityasena in the Aphsad inscription.
2. E.g. for Harṣa in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants and in seals of that monarch; and for Rāmagupta and Jīvagupta in Katra plate.
3. Puṣpabhūti kings—Rājyavardhana I, Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana—in the copper plate and seal inscriptions of Harṣa.
4. In the copper plate and seal inscriptions of Harṣa.
5. *CII*, III, 227.

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In most cases where a king was the donor, he exhorted his own officials and future kings to respect the grant, and not disturb it.[1] The officials addressed in such grants include feudatory chiefs and officials belonging to civil, military, police, justice and revenue departments.[2] The tenents of the *agrahāra* villages were called upon to pay all dues to the donees, which were previously paid to the king.

The Banskhera and Madhuban inscriptions give us an idea of the procedure connected with the handing over of a royal grant to a donee. They show that the order of the king relating to the grant was carried by an officer called *dūtaka* to certain officials whose business it was to draw up the title deed properly and then hand it over to the donee.

References to kings of other dynasties

Some epigraphs refer to kings of other dynasties as well. The Aphsad inscription refers to Mādhavagupta's 'desire to associate himself with the glorious Harṣadeva'.[3] Incidentally, this reference is the basis for identifying Mādhavagupta with the homonym Mālava prince of the *Harṣacarita.*

High praise has generally been lavished on the donor kings and their ancestors in the epigraphs. But, curiously enough, in some of them we also come across encomium being showered on enemy kings. The Aphsad inscription, while eulogising Kumāragupta, ancestor of the donor king Ādityasena, speaks of his adversary, the Maukhari ruler Īśānavarman, in glowing terms, calling him 'a very moon among kings'. Similarly, while referring to the victory of the Later Gupta ruler Dāmodargupta over the Maukhari ruler, the epigraph extols the latter as possessing a stepping array of mighty elephants 'which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas'.[4]

In the Deo Baranark inscription of the later Gupta ruler Jīvitagupta II, three earlier rulers of other dynasties the Imperial Gupta ruler Bālāditya, and two Maukhari kings, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman have been mentioned with the epithets *parameśvara* and *śrī* prefixed to their names, even though the later Gupta kings did not have cordial relations with the kings of the Maukhari dynasty.

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1. Cf. the Banskhera and Madhuban plates and the Deo Baranark inscription.
2. The epigraphs make mention of specific terms for the communication of the king's orders to state officials. In the Banskhera and Madhuban plates the expression is *samājñāpayati* (orders); in the Deo Baranark inscription, *mānayati, bodhayati, samādiśati,* i.e. 'honours, explains and orders'.
3. *CII,* III, 207.
4. *Ibid.,* 206.

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In the grants and donations, a wish is generally expressed that the pious act may last for ever, and in this context, comparisons have been made with objects and phenomena, real, legendary or mythical, that are believed to last permanently.[1]

Benedictory and imprecatory verses

Benedictory and imprecatory verses also occur in some of the epigraphs under study. There are two identical verses in the Banskhera and Madhuban plates of Harṣa in which people have been exhorted to do good to all beings and be generous in making gifts, as wealth is fleeting. The Katra inscription also has two such verses, of which the first makes the general observation that land has been enjoyed by Sagara and other kings, and he who owns land enjoys its fruits; the second verse is imprecatory and says that he who confiscates land granted by himself or someone else would along with his forefathers be condemned to live the life of worms in excreta. These two verses are also met with in some other earlier, contemporary and later epigraphs and also in some ancient texts with slight modifications here and there in some cases.[2]

The Mangraon inscription ends with the imprecation that undoing of the arrangement for permanently burning the temple lamp would amount to great sin. Similarly the Nalanda stone inscription warns that one who interferes with the gift would 'have the due fate of one who commits the five sins'. Such an offender is also reminded that his sin would not go unnoticed as the Buddha would be constantly present there.

Composers and scribes

Some of the epigraphs also give names of the scribes aud composers of the text, and in two cases we are also informed about their native places. In one instance we have even the name of the father of the composer. The text of the Banskhera grant was engraved by the order of *mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta mahāsāmanta mahārāja* Bhāna (Bhānu), and that of Madhuban grant by the order of *mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta sāmanta* and *mahārāja* Īśvara. It is not unlikely that the text of the inscription, in each case, was composed

1. Thus the Aphsad inscription says that the religious act of Ādityasen and his wife and mother last as long as moon remains on the head of Śiva, Śrī on the chest of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī in the mouth of Brahmā, the earth on the head of Śeṣanāga and the lightning in the clouds. The Katra inscription has it that the grant of villages should be as lasting as the moon, the sun and the earth. The Nalanda inscription has the wish that as long the sun, moon, earth, sky and mountains endure so long may the act of piety of the donor last.
2. For detailed references see Sircar, *IE*, 196, n. 2.

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by these officials themselves. The engravers of these two grants are named as Īśvara and Gurjjara,[1] respectively.

It is not clear from the text of the Aphsad inscription whether Sūkṣmaśiva was the composer or the engraver of the text of the epigraph. It is, however, clearly mentioned that he was a native of Gauḍa.[2] The Haraha inscription, on the other hand, specifically mentions the names of the composer as well as that of the engraver; they are Raviśānti and Mihiravarman respectively. It also gives the name of the composer's father (Kumāraśānti) and makes a mention of his native place, Garggarākaṭa. However, in the case of Mihiravarman, the engraver, neither the name of his father nor his native place has been mentioned. The text of the Mangraon inscription was composed by one Devadatta and inscribed by Kulāditya, a mason.

The Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarman was composed jointly by Śīlacandra and Svāmidatta. While the latter has been referred to as *prathita karaṇika*, i.e. well known writer of official documents, nothing is said about Śīlacandra, though in the epigraph he has been given precedence in the order of mention. The epigraph also records that the *praśasti* was written at the command of the *saṅgha*. Despite the fact that one of the composers of the *praśasti*, is referred to as a famous writer of documents, at the end of the epigraph, the two composers express their humility regarding the literary quality of the *praśasti*, obviously as a matter of formality.

Royal signature

The grants must have been originally drafted on paper or cloth, and, as the Smṛtis enjoin, signed by the king and stamped with his seal. The seals were often attached to the copper-plates recording the grants. The Sonpat copper seal shows marks of soldering on its back, clearly pointing to the fact that it was originally attached to a copper plate. The last line of the Banskhera plate of Harṣa reads *svahastomama mahārājādhirāja śrī Harṣasya*. The letters are highly ornate and beautiful. It seems that this is the signature of Harṣa[3] which the scribe copied on the copper plate from the original grant on paper or cloth stamped with a seal bearing the royal signature.[4] Incidentally, of the epigraphs under study, this is the only instance where we have the signature of the donor, and a royal donor at that.

1. This is an example of a name after caste.
2. It is also stated in the text that the *praśasti* was written in beautiful letters (*vikaṭākṣarā*).
3. This would show that king Harṣa was a fine calligraphist.
4. Harṣa would hardly have the time to sign routine documents in such an elaborately ornate style. We are of the view that he got prepared a seal bearing his signature which was stamped on state documents on paper or cloth and that it was from such a stamp that the engraver, at the king's command skilfully copied the king's signature on the copper plate.

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II

Political History

A. THE MAUKHARIS

The origin of the Maukharis has been a matter of speculation and debate. There are, however, indications that the term was known to Pāṇini (*c.* 5th century B.C.), as later grammarians (Vāmana, Jayāditya and Kaiyaṭa) have referred to the formation *Maukharyā* under *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV.1.79[1], and taken it as 'a patronymic designating the descendants of Mukhara'. From this it is generally inferred that Mukhara was the name or epithet of their progenitor (*ādipuruṣa*) who brought the family into prominence[2]. The *Harṣacarita* also seems to lend support to this view, as it refers to the families of Rājyaśrī and Grahavarman as the Houses of Puṣpabhūti and Mukhara.[3] Since Puṣpabhūti was the progenitor of the Puṣpabhūtis, Mukhara is likewise taken to have been the progenitor of the Maukharis.

The Haraha inscription refers to the Maukharis as descended from the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got as a boon from Vaivasvata. Vaivasvata has been identified with the seventh Manu by some[4] and with Yama by others.[5]

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1. They cite this as an example of *gotrāvayava*.
2. Pires is undecided whether Mukhara was a first name or a surname, though he is more inclined to think that it was a surname (*Maukharis*, 10). Hirananda Sastri takes it as a surname of the *ādipuruṣa* of the Maukharis, and Ray (*CR*, XXVI, 1928, 202 n) is also of the same view. It has been pointed out that if the *ādipuruṣa* was Mukhara then under the rules of grammar we should have *Maukhara* and not *Maukhari* as the name of the tribe, and as such one should be sceptical in taking *Mukhara* as the name of the progenitor of the family (Srivastava, *HMK*, 3-4).
3. In fact they have been referred to sometimes as Mukharas, but more commonly as Maukharis. The Jaunpur stone inscription has the form *Maukhara*. Bāṇa refers to them as 'Mukharas' (*HC*, CT, 128) and 'Maukharis' both in the *Harṣacarita*, and as 'Maukharis' in the *Kādambarī* (Ridding's trans., 1). The Barabara Hill Inscription of Anantavarman, the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman, the seal inscriptions of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman and the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena have 'Maukhari'.
4. E.g. Sastri, *EI*, XIV, III.
5. E.g. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 608. Not unlikely, by Aśvapati, the king of the same name referred to in the *Mahābhārata* is meant (Majumdar in *HCIP*, III, 67; Pires, *op. cit.*, 13). If this inference be correct, the Maukharis would have belonged originally to the north-western part of India.

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The *varman*-ending names of the rulers, reference to them as descendants of king Aśvapati in the Haraha inscription, expressions like 'lamp of the Kṣatriya family'[1] and 'the abode of (all) the dignity of the Kṣatriyas'[2] applied to Yajñavarman in the epigraphs, indicate that the Maukharis were Kṣatriyas[3].

The scope of the present work does not permit us to discuss the Maukharis known from a seal of Maurya period from Gaya[4], or those known from *yūpa* inscriptions[5] or those known from the Candravalli inscription[6]. Only the

1. *CII*, III, 48.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 50.
3. The *Harṣacarita* likens the marriage of Rājyaśrī and Grahavarman—of the two illustrious houses of Puṣpabhūti and Mukhara respectively—to the union of the houses of the Sun and the Moon (*HC*, CT, 128). From this it has been inferred (Ray, *CR*, XXVI, 203) that the Puṣpabhūtis, whose earlier kings worshipped the Sun, were descendants of the solar race, while the Maukharis belonged to the lunar race. But since the Puṣpabhūtis were probably Vaiśyas, (see *infra.*), it may be inferred that Bāṇa merely compares the families metaphorically with Sun and Moon and does not connect them lineally with the solar and lunar dynasties (see also Tripathi, *HK*, 30). Sastri identifying Vaivasvata of the Haraha inscription with Sun opines that the Maukharis claimed to be Sūryavaṁśīs (*EI*, XIV, 111). Cunningham, however, taking Maukhari as a variant of Maurya, connects the Maukharis with the Mauryas (*ASR*, III, 166). Jayaswal (as referred to in *KMSA*, 80 n) holds that the Maukhari Vaiśyas in Gaya district are the present day descendants of the Maukharis. If this view is taken to be correct, it would imply that due to the exigencies of circumstances, the Maukharis, in any case some of them, adopted the profession of Vaiśyas and began to be counted as such (*ibid.*).
4. The seal bearing the legend *Mokhalinaṁ* (Skt. *Maukharīṇāṁ)* in Mauryan characters (Pires, *op. cit.*, 14) would indicate the presence of the Maukharis in that part of the country during the Mauryan period. In view of the fact that there is hardly any possibility of the existence of an independent political power other than the Mauryas in that region during that period, it has been suggested that the seal belonged to the community (*jātisaṅgha*) of the Maukharis (*ibid.*). There is general agreement on the point that the Gaya region was the original home of the Maukharis.
5. Four *yūpa* inscriptions of the Maukharis dated *kṛta* 296 (=A.D. 239) found in the Kota district of Rajasthan (*EI*, XXIII, 42 f; XXIV, 251 f) bear testimony to the existence of some Maukhari family or families in that part of the country in the third century A.D.
6. *Arch. Surv. of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1929, 50. This would indicate the existence of a Maukhari family in the Karnatak region as well. There is, however, no evidence to establish its kinship with Maukhari families of northern India. Even the reading '*Mukari*' and its rendering into '*Maukhari*' has been doubted by some scholars. Raychaudhuri reads it as *Mokari* (*PHAI*, 604). The view of Pires (*op. cit.*, 20-21) that the unnamed Maukhari ruler referred to in the Candravalli inscription as defeated by Kadamba Mayūraśarman is identical with Kṣatravarman Maukhari referred to in the *Harṣacarita* as a king who ruled in Magadha, and the view of Jayaswal (*ABORI*, XII, 55 ff) based on the dubious evidence of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* that Samudravarman was a Maukhari king who was killed by his adopted son Candrasena (identified by him with Candragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty) are generally not accepted by scholars (see Sinha, *DKM*, 144-46).

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Maukharis who ruled in the Gaya region in the early sixth century A.D. and those of Kanauj fall under the period of our study and hence their political history has been detailed in the following pages.

MAUKHARIS OF GAYA REGION

The Barabar[1] and Nagarjuni hill inscriptions,[2] the only source material for the history of the Maukharis of Yajñavarman's line that ruled in Gaya district, refer to three Maukhari chiefs—Yajñavarman, his son Śārdūlavarman and the latter's son Anantavarman. The first two have the title *nṛpa*, which title in that period was usually applied to feudatory chiefs. Moreover, in one of these records Śārdūlavarman is specifically referred to as *Sāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi*. Anantavarman, the last of the three chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions, is referred to without any title. This omission might be casual, or else might indicate that either he did not assume rulership or that he was deprived of feudal status.[3] Yajñavarman is referred to in the epigraphs as a glorious, illustrious and renowned chief who performed several sacrifices. He has been called honest, wise, liberal, sober and a brave warrior. His son Śārdūlavarman is stated to have established his fame by defeating hostile kings in deadly engagements. Anantavarman helped his father in subduing many enemies. He is referred to as religious, liberal and beloved of his father. On the grounds of palaeography, these inscriptions of Anantavarman may be dated prior to Haraha inscription of 554 A.D.[4] These chiefs were in all probability feudatories of the Imperial Gupta rulers.[5]

MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ

For the history of the most important branch of the Maukharis which had its capital at Kānyakubja[6] the city which came to occupy a place of

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1. *Infra.*
2. *Infra.*
3. Sinha (*DHM*, 110) suggests that it was perhaps the Later Gupta king Jīvitagupta I who deprived him of that status.
4. Cunnigham placed them in the fourth century A.D. (*ASR*, III, 137); Bühler, *c.* 5th century A.D.; Pires, first half of the fifth century A.D. (*op. cit.*, 16); Kielhorn not later than first half of the sixth century A.D. (*EI*, VI, 3); and N.G. Majumdar earlier than the Haraha inscription of 554 A.D. (*IA*, XLVI, 127).
5. The view (Ray, *CR*, XXVI, 210) that these Maukhari chiefs were governors of the Maukharis of the Kanauj branch who had conquered the Magadha region from Dāmodaragupta, the Later Gupta ruler, is not acceptable on chronological grounds, as these chiefs flourished in a much earlier period.
6. The view that even during the reign of Avantivarman and Grahavarman, Kanauj was in the dominion of the Later Guptas (Smith, *JRAS*, 1908, 772) does not hold ground as the Maukhari queen Rājyaśrī is stated to have been imprisoned in that city after it was captured by the Mālava king who belonged to the Later Gupta family (*HC*, CT, 173 and

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prominence amongst the cities of India for several centuries afterwards, we have the Jaunpur and Haraha inscriptions, the Asirgadh, Sohnag, Kanauj and Nalanda seals, coins of some rulers of the dynasty,[1] the Aphsad and the Deo-Baranark inscriptions of the Later Guptas, literary work—*Harṣacarita*, the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and the records of Chinese travellers as source material. The sheet anchor of Maukhari chronology is the date (VS) 611 (=A.D. 554) of Haraha inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman. Since Īśānavarman was the fourth ruler of the dynasty, the rule of the first three rulers may be placed between *c.* 500 A.D.—550 A.D., as the succession in each case was from father to son.[2] Between 554 A.D. and 606 A.D., we have to place part of the reign period of Īśānavarman and the reign periods of Śarvavarman, Avantivarman and Grahavarman (last mentioned king, who was killed in 606 A.D., in all probability, had a very short reign).[3]

The Maukhari family of Kanauj played an important role in the history of Northern India, hence its political history assumes significance.

Harivarman

Harivarman alias *Jvālāmukha* was the first notable chief of the Maukhari dynasty of Kanauj. The disintegration of the empire of the Imperial Guptas offered an opportunity for ambitious feudal lords like him to carve out sizable kingdoms for themselves.

According to some scholars, either Harivarman or one of his ancestors moved from Gaya region to the fertile *doab* and carved out a kingdom for himself with Kanauj as capital. There is, however, no direct evidence to enable us to establish any close family relationship between the Maukhari rulers of

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224). Further, the fact that after the death of Grahavarman Maukhari Kānyakubja was offered to Harṣa by the ministers, and also the evidence of *Fang Chih* (Watters, I,345) that he (Harṣa) ruled over that kingdom jointly with his sister Rājyaśrī, would go to establish that Kānyakubja was the capital of the Maukharis. Basak is, however, of the view that the Maukharis ruled in Ayodhya and it was Avantivarman who shifted his capital from that city to Kanauj (*HNEI*, 138). According to Pires (*op. cit.*, 153), Pūrṇavarman (whom Pires takes to be of Maukhari lineage) ruled in Magadha and perhaps had his capital at Pāṭaliputra which had been also the capital of the Maukharis till the reign of Grahavarman (*ibid.*). But the views of Basak and Pires do not seem convincing.

1. For coins see *JRAS*, 1906, 843-50; Tripathi, *HK*, 55-60; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 57-58. A Nalanda seal has the legend Śrī-*Harivarmma mahāvihārīyāryabhikṣusaṅghasya* (*MASI*, *66*, 40). It is, however, extremely doubtful if Harivarman of the seal is identical with the Maukhari ruler of the same name.
2. See *infra*.
3. The position of Su- in the Maukhari chronology is not clear (see Appendix).

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Kanauj and the chiefs known from Barabar and Nagarjuni cave inscriptions.[1] Harivarman has been given the epithet *mahārāja*, and is eulogised in conventional phraseology.[2]

Ādityavarman

Ādityavarman was the son of Harivarman and Jayasvāminī. The Haraha and Jaunpur inscriptions refer to his numerous sacrificial performances, and to his regulating the *varṇas* and *āśramas*. His wife, Harṣaguptā, as similarity of the names would indicate, was very probably a sister of the Later Gupta king Harṣagupta. This matrimonial alliance with the Later Guptas must have increased the power and prestige of the Maukharis.

Īśvaravarman

Ādityavarman, was succeeded by his son Īśvaravarman. In view of the extensive lacunae in the Jaunpur inscription it is extremely difficult to say whether the information in the extant portion refers to Īśvaravarman or to one of his descendants.[3] From the epigraph it appears that he averted a great calamity that was to befall on his subjects. The epigraph also refers vaguely to the Andhra king as given to fear and taking shelter in the crevices of the Vindhyas. An adversary (perhaps mentioned in the missing portion) is also reported to have fled to Raivataka mountain. The damaged condition of the epigraph, however, leaves us in doubt the exact nature of the exploits of the Maukhari ruler (Īśvaravarman or Īśānavarman) and it is not clear whether this Maukhari ruler launched a successful campaign against or only repulsed an attack of his enemy or enemies. The expression *Dhārā-mārgga vinirgatāgnikaṇikā* has been taken by Fleet to mean that the king of Dhārā mounted a campaign of invasion against the Maukhari ruler, and the last portion in the epigraph contained his name.[4] Basak, however, holds that "in all likelihood the word *dhārā* refers to the edge of a sword used by the Maukhari king from which

1. See also Tripathi, *HK*, 36. According to Pires, Harivarman was a sister's or brother's son of Anantavarman (*op. cit.*, 53).
2. Pires (*op. cit.*, pp. 62-63) is of the view that Harivarman was defeated by the Later Gupta ruler, Kṛṣṇagupta. He also suggests that the Magadhan ruler referred to in the Tamil *Śilappadikāram* as defeated by Chola Karikāla was Kṛṣṇagupta (*op. cit.*, 64-65).
3. *CII*, III, 229. Hiranand Sastri (*EI*, XIV, 112) attributes the epigraph to Īśānavarman. According to Sircar, the victories referred to in the Jaunpur inscription should be ascribed to Īśānavarman (*JRASBL*, XI, 70n). Dikshit suggests that the epigraph is of the time of the fifth Damodarpur copper plate and the donor of the plate came to Puṇḍravardhana from Ayodhya due to Maukhari ascendancy (*EI*, XVII, 193).
4. *CII*, III, no. 51, p. 229. Some scholars identify the king of Dhārā with Yaśodharman who according to them defeated Mihirakula and made extensive conquests and shifted his capital from Ujjain to Dhārā. See also Pires, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; Sinha, *DKM*, 161, n. 3.

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sparks of fire came out".[1] The verse that follows refers to the advance of the Maukhari army to the Himalayan region. N.G. Majumdar is of the view that the defeat of the Andhra king took place during the rule of Īśvaravarman, and it was prince Īśānavarman who led the victorious army, for the latter has been credited with such a victory in Haraha inscription.[2] These conquests should have been sufficient to raise Īśvaravarman to the status of independant ruler. But since he has been referred to merely as *mahārāja* in the Asirgarh seal inscription, it has been suggested that he only successfully defended his territories against the powers mentioned in the Jaunpur epigraph rather than conquer their dominions.[3]

Īśvaravarman has been eulogised in the epigraphs as brave, wise, honest, liberal, compassionate, follower of *Smṛti* and perfomer of sacrifices. His queen Upaguptādevī was probably a Later Gupta princess.[4] The contracting of matrimony in the Later Gupta House must not only have enhanced their prestige, but also paved the way to their imperial status.[5]

Īśānavarman

Īśvaravarman was succeeded by his illustrious son, Īśānavarman, born of Upaguptādevī. The Haraha inscription of his reign, the most important and the only dated epigraph of the Maukharis, has the date [V.S.] 611[6] (=554 A.D.). The epigraph records that Īśānavarman mounted the throne after defeating the Andhra king, the Śulikas and the Gauḍas.[7]

The old Andhra-Sātavāhana kingdom had been shorn of its glory during this period, and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins held sway over the Andhrapatha region. The discomfited Andhra ruler was perhaps Mādhavavarman I[8] 'who' crossed the

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1. *HNEI*, 129.
2. N.G. Majumdar, *IA*, 1917, 127, also Basak, *HNEI*, 129; Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, 267 n.
3. Mookerji (*Harsha*, 54-55) includes the possibility of such a conquest by Īśānavarman.
4. Sinha, however, holds that she was a sister of Viṣṇugupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty (*DKM*, 161, n. 3).
5. Mookerji holds that Īśvaravarman had attained imperial status (*Harsha*, 58 n. 2). However, in the records of his successors he is referred to as *mahārāja* (feudatory chief) and not *mahārājādhirāja* (independent king).
6. The view that *atirikta* in the epigraph may also mean 'superflous' and the date may be 600-11=589 V.S. (*Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum for the year ending in March 1915*, p. 3n) has been rightly rejected (see Pires, *op. cit.*, 76). The mention of Śarada in the context of the date shows that Vikrama *saṁvat*, which began in that season (Kielhorn, *IA*. XX, 407), is meant.
7. *EI*, XIV, 120.
8. *PHAI*, 602; *DKM*, 164. Some identify him with Indravarman (Tripathi, *HK*, 40) or with Vikramendravarman (*ibid.*).

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river Godavari with the desire to conquer the eastern region;[1] some scholars, as stated earlier, believe that these conquests (particularly the one over the Andhra ruler) were made by Īśānavarman during the reign of his father.[2] Others, however, would not rule out the possibility of both achieving separate victories during their respective reign periods.

The Śūlikas have been variously identified by different scholars. Some[3] identify them with Śaulikas of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[4] and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,[5] who inhabited the region in the neighbourhood of Vidarbha and Cedi[6]; and others with Mūlikas[7] who lived in the north western part of Āryāvarta. B. C. Majumdar places them on the sea shore near Mednapore district,[8] while S.K. Sastri considers them as neighbours of the Andhras.[9] Some scholars suggest that they should be identified with the Colas.[10] But their identification with the Cālukyas, of which *Calikya*, *Calukya*, *Salukki*, *Solanki*, *Solaki* etc. are dialectic variants, seems more plausible[11].

Règarding the Gauḍas, the Haraha inscription contains the following expression: "*Kṛtvā cāyatimocita sthala bhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśrayān.*" Sastri

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1. Jouvean Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 92.
2. N. G. Majumdar, *IA*, XLVI, 126-27; Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, 262 n., 267.
3. Sastri, *EI*, XIV, 112.
4. *BS* XIV,8; In, *BS*, XIV, 23 Śūlikas have been placed in the north-western part of India.
5. *Vide HK*, 41.
6. *EI*, XIV, 112; See also *HK*, 41.
7. Fleet, *IA*, XXII, 190.
8. *Orissa in the Making*, 105. He points out that the present-day Sulkis in Midnapore are the descendants of this Śūlikas (*ibid.*).
9. *JAHRS.*, II, 180.
10. Heras, *JAHRS*, I, pp. 130-31. The view is taken to be supported by the fact that the conflict of a Cola ruler with, 'Mukari' is mentioned in *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayagondan. Tripathi, however, suggests that 'Mukari' is perhaps the name of some place in South India and need not be taken to stand for the Maukharis (*HK*, 41, n.5).
11. *PHAI*, 602-03. It may also be noted in this context that the Mahakuta pillar inscription claims military success for the Calikya (*i.e.* Cālukya) power even in the regions of Aṅga Vaṅga, Magadha, Madraka and Kaliṅga during this period. Chattopadhyaya (*EHNI*, 267-68) is of the view that Śūlikas who in *BS*. IX, 15, XIV. 8 are associated with Aparañta, Benavāsi and Vidarbha, and in *BS*. IX. 21; XX.7; XIV. 35 with Gandhāra and Vokkana region, should be identified with the Hūṇas. According to him the Vaṅgas were in the east, the Andhras in the South, the Śūlikas should be located in the north or north-west and this, according to him, would, be more plausible in view of the fact that Īśānavarman is credited with victory over the Hūṇas. But, as pointed out by Sinha, there does not seem any justification as to why the same power should be referred to as *Śūlikas* in the Haraha inscription but as Hūṇas in the Aphsad inscription, while dealing with the achievements of the same ruler, or even of two rulers of the same dynasty (*DHM*, 113).

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prefers to read *mocita* as *maucita* and translates the expression thus: "after causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm".[1] Basak interprets the passage (as it is) to mean that "Īśānavarman made the Gauḍa people take shelter towards the seashore after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects".[2] Sircar on the other hand points out that the Gauḍas did not live on the seashore,[3] and further says that "the sea can hardly be the shelter of a people living on the shore".[4] In his view the intention is to convey "that Īśānavarman drove out the Gauḍa people 'from the dry land and compelled them to take shelter into the waters of the sea'. R.C. Majumdar prefers to substitute *apratimocita* for *ayatimocita* (as according to him the latter does not make proper sense), and infers that 'Īśānavarman was partially successful in checking the Gauḍas to recover their homeland on the decline of the Gupta empire'.[5] Other scholars, however, have not accepted the emendation.[6] Sinha believes that during Īśānavarman's reign the Gauḍas who occupied the coastal districts of South-western Bengal[7] were forced by him to give up their aggressive designs. In the process they might have lost their homeland and taken shelter on the seashore.[8] Majumdar suggests that the Gauḍa king who ruled during this period was Gopacandra or one of his successors,[9] while Basak identifies him with Jayanāga.[10] The dominions of the Later Guptas fell between the Maukhari and Gauḍa kingdoms. It has, therefore, been suggested that the Maukharis and the Later Guptas perhaps fought the Gauḍas jointly,[11] probably on the initiative

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1. *EI*, XIV, 120.
2. *HNEI*, 133.
3. He points out that the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and Hiuen-tsang's account would place the Gauḍas around Murshidabad district) *JRASBL*, XI, 69.n).
4. *JRASBL*, XI, 69 n.
5. *IC*, XI, 123.
6. Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 69 n.
7. According to him (*DKM*, 219) during the visit of Hiuen-tsang (second quarter of seventh century A.D.) the Gauḍas had made themselves masters of Central Bengal and established their capital at Karṇasuvarṇa. He is of the view that the haughty enemies on the sea-shore, referred to in connection with Jīvitagupta I's conquest, were also the Gauḍas (*DKM*, 213). Raychaudhuri holds that the proper realm of the Gauḍas was western Bengal, as it bordered on the sea and included Karṇasuvarṇa and Rādhāpurī (*PHAI*, 602).
8. *DKM*, 218.
9. Majumdar, *NHIP*, VI, 211.
10. *HNEI*, 133.
11. See Tripathi, *HK*, 42-43. Sinha disagrees with the joint venture theory as, according to him, Īśānavarman's campaign should be placed sometime later than that of Jīvitagupta I (*DHM*, 114).

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of the Imperial Gupta ruler of the time.[1] Whatever be the case, this victory over the Gauḍas does not seem to have led to the permanent annexation of their kingdom.[2]

The measure of success achieved by Īśānavarman is fittingly reflected in his assuming the title of *mahārājādhirāja*,[3] indicating that he was an independent and powerful ruler. He is also reported to have performed several religious sacrifices. These pretensions of Īśānavarman must have posed a challenge to the Later Gupta ruler Kumāragupta,[4] who took steps to humble him. The Aphsad inscription states that like Mandāra mountain Kumāragupta 'churned' the army of Īśānavarman.[5] After this conquest Kumāragupta was probably in a position to extend his territories upto Prayāga.[6]

The Aphsad inscription[7] of Ādityasena describes Īśānavarman's army (which met defeat at the hands of Kumāragupta) as one that was 'the cause of fortune', and refers to the Maukhari king as 'moon among kings' and 'great'. This indicates that Īśānavarman's victories described in the Haraha inscription of 554 A.D., were achieved before his defeat at the hands of Kumāragupta.[8] According to some scholars, the defeat of the Hūṇas by the Maukharis recorded in the Aphsad inscription took place during the reign of Īśānavarman, while according to others, it happended in the reign of his successor. The unnamed Maukhari king who is reported to have suffered defeat at the hands of the Later Gupta ruler Dāmodaragupta, could thus either be Īśānavarman or his son Śarvavarman.[9] In the Haraha inscription, Īśānavarman is described as religious minded, virtuous, strong, brave, sympathetic, resourceful, a skilled archer, maintainer of the order of the *varṇas* and *āśramas*, and as one who gave a fillip to Vedic studies and pleased his subjects by his noble deeds.

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1. Majumdar, *NHIP*, VI, 211; Sinha, *DKM*, 218-19. According to Sinha the Imperial Gupta overlord was Viṣṇugupta Candrāditya (*ibid.*).
2. Sinha, *DKM*, 169.
3. Sinha suggests that Īśānavarman took the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* (met with in the epigraphs of his successors) after the death of the Imperial Gupta ruler Viṣṇugupta in *c.* 551-52 (*DKM*, 167). Upaguptādevī, the mother of Īśānavarman, according to him, was the sister of Viṣṇugupta (*DKM*, 165).
4. It was probably the chastisement of the Gauḍas that brought Īśānavarman in conflict with Kumāragupta whose territories were close to the Gauḍas (see Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 26).
5. Mookerji (*Harsha*, 55) and Ray (*CR*, 1928, 207), however, hold that Īśānavarman defeated Kumāragupta.
6. See *infra*.
7. *Infra*.
8. It may also be noted that there is no reference to the fight of Īśānavarman with any Later Gupta ruler, in the Haraha inscription.
9. See *infra*.

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Sūryavarman

Sūryavarman is mentioned as son of Īśānavarman in the Haraha inscription.[1] The Asirgadh, Sohnag and Nalanda seals mention Śarvavarman as the successor of Īśānavarman and make no mention of Sūryavarman. Several possibilities have been suggested about the position of Sūryavarman. One suggestion is that he was the eldest son of Īśānavarman but either he predeceased his father, or his claims were overlooked by the king who preferred his younger son Śarvavarman as his successor to the throne,[2] or he was worsted in the struggle for succession.[3] Another suggestion is that he was a younger son of Īśānavarman, and so the elder son Śarvavarman succeeded his father. It has also been suggested that he was appointed governor or a subordinate ruler of Magadha by Śarvavarman after the conquest of that region.[4] In the Sirpur inscription there is a reference to one Sūryavarman, 'born in the unblemished family of the *Varmans*, great on account of (their) supremacy over Magadha',[5] who was father of the mother of the Somavaṁśī ruler Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.[6] The Varmans of the epigraph have generally been taken to be the Maukharis,[7] and this Sūryavarman is generally identified with the homonym of the Haraha inscription.[8]

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1. *Infra.*
2. Pires supports this contention by saying that the Haraha inscription, though it lauds the virtues of Sūryavarman, is silent about his skill as a warrior (*op. cit.*, 87-88). He also cites historical examples (like that of Samudragupta) of ruling king's preference for the younger son (*ibid.*, n. 1).
3. *HK*, 44.
4. *DKM*, 197.
5. *EI*, XI, 184 ff. at p. 195; XII, 15 ff.
6. Reference to maternal uncle or maternal grandfather in an epigraph (e.g. *Licchavidauhitra* for Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription; cf. also reference to Candragupta II in the Vākāṭaka records) generally indicates reigning king's indebtedness to those relatives. Quite likely Sūryavarman made some contribution to the furtherance of the interests of the Somavaṁśīs (*DHM*, 118).
7. Sircar (*JRASBL*, XI, 72 n.) writes: 'No Varman lords of Magadha, except the Maukharis are known'.
8. The Mallar plates (*EI*, XXIII, 113 f.) of Mahāśivagupta Bāḷārjuna refer to his maternal uncle Bhāskaravarman, who apparently was the son of Sūryavarman. Some scholars, on palaeographic grounds, date the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta Bāḷārjuna to the eight century A.D. (see *EI*, XI, 185), Kielhorn dated the Rajim copper plate of Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva (brother of the grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna) to the eighth century A.D. (*EI*, IV, 258). It is held by some that since Sūryavarman has been referred to as *nṛpa* in the Sirpur record indicating that he was a king, he should not be identified with Sūryavarman of the Haraha inscription, who did not rule (see Tripathi, *HK*, 44; Ghosh, *EI*, XXV, 266 f.). Others, however, point out that palaeographic evidence does not rule out a date earlier than the eighth century A.D. for the Rajim grant and the word *nṛpa* need not be taken to refer to a king exclusively but also to a governor, crown-

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Śarvavarman

Maukhari epigraphs explicitly mention Śarvavarman as son and successor of Īśānavarman. The Aphsad inscription refers to the victory of the Later Gupta ruler Dāmodargupta over the then ruling Maukhari king, though the Gupta king himself was killed in the battle.[1] Opinions are divided on the issue whether the Maukhari adversary was Īśānavarman or Śarvavarman. Some scholars argue that since Dāmodaragupta's father Kumāragupta had fought against Īśānavarman, father and predeccesssor of Śarvavarman, the Maukhari king whom Dāmodaragupta fought should be identified with Śarvavarman.[2] On the other hand, it has been pointed out[3] that apparently Īśānavarman, who is mentioned by name in verse 8 of the Aphsad inscription, has been referred to by his dynastic appellation, 'Maukhari' in verse 11 of the same epigraph.

Parameśvara Śarvavarman, referred to in the Deo Baranark inscription as one who confirmed the grant of a village Vāruṇikā, that had been made earlier by Bālāditya (*i.e.* Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya of the Imperial Gupta dynasty) is no doubt the Maukhari ruler of the same name. The grant of village Deo Baranark by him in the Nagarabhukti (South Bihar) would show that the heart of Magadha had passed from the Later Guptas to the Maukharis.[4] It is debatable

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prince and a feudatory; and Sūryavarman might have been a governor of the district around Haraha. Mirashi even suggests that he might have ruled after his father, but being collateral, his name does not occur in the Maukhari epigraphs (*EI*, XXII, 19). For details, see Mirashi, *EI*, XXII, 15 f, particularly pp. 18-22; Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 72 n; Sinha, *DKM*, 440-44). Sūryavarman's daughter Vāsaṭā was married to Harṣagupta, son of Candragupta, who was a contemporary of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I (c. 535-85 A.D. according to Sircar, and 525-68 A.D., according to Mirashi). There would be no chronological hurdle in identifying Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription with the homonym of Haraha inscription. R.C. Majumdar, however, feels that the arguments of Ghosh placing Sūryavarman of Sirpur inscription much later than Sūryavarman Maukhari still hold good (in *CHB*, 687). He feels that the possibility of Sūryavarman belonging to the family of Pūrṇavarman or to that of the Maukharis of Gaya region cannot be ruled out (*ibid.*).

1. See *infra*. Some scholars, however, hold that the Maukhari ruler had the upper hand in the battle (e.g. Tripathi, *HK*, 44-45).
2. Tripathi, *HK*, 45, 54. However, the other argument put forth by Tripathi (*HK*, 45) that as the Aphsad inscription refers to the adversary of Dāmodaragupta as a Maukhari and since in the Asirgarh seal Śarvavarman among the Maukhari rulers is specifically referred to as 'Maukhari', the reference pertains to him, loses its weight in view of the fact that in a Nalanda seal, discovered later, Avantivarman alone among the Maukhari rulers is referred to as Maukhari (see also Sinha, *DKM*, 173 n).
3. Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 70 n. 4. Raychaudhuri suggests that the ruler in question might as well have been Sūryavarman (*PHAI*, 605 n.).
4. The view of R.C. Majumdar (*IC*, XI, 124) that the village granted might not be Vāruṇikā but Kiśoravāṭaka is untenable (see Sinha, *DKM*, 136-37). Nagarabhukti, which evidently is the same as Śrī Nagarabhukti of some other epigraphs, included Pāṭaliputra.

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whether Asiragadh, where a seal of Śarvavarman is said to have been found,[1] formed part of his kingdom.[2]

Some historians[3] are inclined to identify *Parameśvara* Śarvavarmadeva of Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva (VS 893=835 A.D.)[4] with Śarvavarman Maukhari.[5] *Parameśvara* Śarvavarman of that epigraph is said to have made a grant of some land in Udumbara *Viṣaya* of Kālañjara *maṇḍala*. This identification would show Maukhari supremacy in Bundelkhand region as well.[6]

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1. It is also debatable whether the original seal or only its impression was found there (*CII*, III, 219).
2. Some scholars (eg. Tripathi, *HK*, 53-54) argue that a seal being small and easily portable could have been brought there from somewhere else and therefore its discovery there should not be taken as proof of Maukhari rule over that territory. On the other hand, it has been pointed out by others that since the king of Dhārā and the king of the Andhras, and the Śūlikas had already been vanquished in the reign of his predecessor, it is reasonable to suppose that the power of Śarvavarman extended to the south of the Vindhyas. Asirgadh would then be the southern out-post of the Maukhari kingdom (Aravamuthan, *KMSA*, 96-97; Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, 272). The fact that the Maukhari queen Rājyaśrī sought shelter in the Vindhyan forests is also taken to be indicative of that region being within the territories of the Maukharis (Sinha, *DKM*, 198). Identifying Sūryavarman of Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta with the Maukhari prince of the same name, Mirashi (*EI*, XXIII, 116) suggests that the Somavaṁśī ruler might have helped the Maukhari rulers Īśvaravarman and Īśānavarman in the war against the Andhra ruler (perhaps Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I). Devahuti, on the other hand, says that probably the claims of prince Sūryavarman for the Maukhari throne had been overlooked and therefore the royal house of Kosala which was related to Sūryavarman would have stood as a barrier against his adversary Śarvavarman extending his hold to the Asirgadh region (*op. cit.*, 27).
3. Eg., Sinha, *DKM*, 199.
4. *EI*, XIX, 15 ff.
5. Hirananda Sastri (*EI*, XIX, 16) identifies. Śarvavarman with Śarva mentioned in the Sanjan copper plates of Amoghavarṣa I (*EI*, XVIII, 235 ff) as feudatory of Govinda III with his capital in the bank of the Narmada in the Vindhya region. Bhandarkar (*EI*, XVIII, 240-41) identifies him with a prince named Māraśarva who had his capital at Śrībhavana [*EI*, VI, 244 (text), 250 (trans.)]. It may be noted that Śarva is called a mere *maṇḍaleśa mahārāja*, whereas Māraśarva is known to have ruled at Broach. As such it would not be right to identify either of the above-mentioned two petty rulers with *Parameśvara* Śarvavarmadeva, particularly when there is also the difference in nomenclature (see *DKM*, 199, n. 3).
6. The interpretation of the Barah inscription, as proposed by some scholars earlier, indicated that one Śarvavarman issued the grant after the approval of Nāgabhaṭa (II Pratīhāra) and hence he was taken to be a feudatory of the latter. This would naturally rule out his identification with the Maukhari ruler of that name on chronological grounds. However, according to a different but no less plausible interpretation of the text, the two kings, Nāgabhaṭa and Śarvavarman, need not be taken as contemporaries, and hence the reference may well be to the Maukhari ruler (See Sinha, *DKM*, 199 n. 3).

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The Nirmand (a village in Kangra district) copper plate inscription,[1] datable to the seventh century A.D., pertains to the renewal of the grant by *Mahāsāmanta mahārāja* Samudrasena, which had earlier been made by *Mahārāja* Śarvavarman. Some scholars identify Śarvavarman of this epigraph with the Maukhari ruler of the same name,[2] while others are opposed to it.[3]

The Aphsad inscription refers to the mighty elephants of the Maukharis throwing aloft the troops of the Hūṇas in the battle.[4] It cannot be said for certain whether this battle took place in the reign of Īśānavarman or of Śarvavarman. As the Puṣpabhūti territories lay in between the kingdom of Kanauj and that of the Hūṇas, some scholars[5] hold that the Puṣpabhūti and Maukhari forces unitedly fought against the Hūṇas, their common enemies. Another suggestion is that Ādityavardhana Puṣpabhūti was a relatively minor ruler and allowed Śarvavarman to pass through his territories in his fight against the Hūṇas, who because of their closer proximity posed a greater danger to the Puṣpabhūtis than to the Maukharis.[6] The Kangra region, if it had come

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1. *CII*, III, no. 80.
2. Aravamuthan, *KMSA*, 93.
3. Tripathi, *HK*, 54-55. He opposes the identification on the grounds that (1) the epithets of the Maukhari ruler Śarvavarman were *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* whereas the ruler of the epigraph has been referred to merely as *mahārāja*, and (2) that it would presuppose that the Maukharis had suzerainty over Puṣpabhūti dominions which lay between their territories and the area around Nirmand (Kangra district)—which goes against the very cordial relations existing between the two Houses. But the use of the epithet *mahārāja* in place of *mahārājādhirāja* could well be a scribal error (cf. the use of the title *mahārāja* for *mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty *CII*, III, no. 11, line 2) which would be pardonable, as the epigraph was written some time after the reign of that Maukhari king, when the Kangra region probably no more formed part of the Maukhari dominions. It has also been pointed out that the predecessors of Prabhākaravardhana were, relatively speaking, petty chiefs and, as such the Maukharis could well have made their weight felt in the Kangra region during this period (*DKM*, 200-03). The absence of any mention of hostilities between the Maukharis and the Puṣpabhūtis in Bāṇa's work can be explained by the facts that he had a soft corner for both the royal houses—Puṣpabhūti Harṣavardhana being his patron, and the Maukharis, of his *guru* Bhatsu (or Bharva), and that by his time the two houses had been bound together in a matrimonial alliance (see Sinha, *DKM*, 201).
4. Sinha is now (*DHM*, 114) sceptic about Maukhari victory over the Hūṇas and is inclined to accept the interpretation of the relevant text of the Aphsad inscription which suggests that the Maukhari army included Hūṇa mercenaries. That the Hūṇas (who were disliked and despised by the Indians in general) should have been recruited in the Maukharian army, appears rather doubtful.
5. Mookerji, *Harsha*, 13 n; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 2.
6. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 28.

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under Maukhari rule,[1] was perhaps acquired during the expedition against the Hūṇas. A large number of coins of Śarvavarman have come to light. He probably had extensive territories under his rule and ruled for a fairly long period.[2]

Avantivarman

The Nalanda seal of Avantivarman,[3] clearly mentions him as son and successor of Śarvavarman, and hence the view held by some scholars[4] earlier that a king Susthitavarman by name, referred to in the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena as one who met defeat at the hands of the Later Gupta ruler Mahāsenagupta, ruled in between the reign periods of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, has to be rejected outright.[5] Susthitavarman of that epigraph is now identified by scholars with the Kāmarūpa king of the same name, who was father of Bhāskaravarman.[6] The validity of this idenification is attested by the fact that the Aphsad inscription refers to Susthitavarman in the context of Lauhitya.

Avantivarman is referred to as *parameśvara* in the Deo Baranark inscription[7] and is mentioned with the customary imperial titles in the Nalanda seal.[8] Bāṇa refers to him as 'pride of the race'.[9] A fairly large number of his coins have come to light.

Some scholars have read 'Rantivarman' or Avantivarman in the colophons of some manuscripts of the *Mudrārākṣasa*[10] and suggested that this

1. Sircar (*JRASBL*, XI, 70, n. 4) takes this reference to pertain to the reign of Īśānavarman and suggests that the Maukharis possibly fought the Hūṇas as feudatories of Bālāditya of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.
2. Sircar places him between A.D. 560 and A.D. 575 (*JRASBL*, X, 71).
3. *Infra.*
4. Fleet, *CII*, III, Intro., 15; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 25 n; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 33; Aiyangar, *JIH*, V, 319.
5. Even before the Nalanda seal was discovered the placing of Susthitavarman in between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman was not accepted by some scholars on the grounds that (i) the name Susthitavarman does not figure in the genealogical tables of the Maukharis, (ii) no coins of that ruler are known while those of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman are well known, and that (iii) the Deo Baranark inscription refers to Avantivarman confirming the grant earlier made by Śarvavarman and makes no mention of Susthitavarman (see also Tripathi, *HK*, 47-49).
6. Vide Nidhanpur copper plates (*EI*, XII, 65 ff); Nalanda seals (*JBORS*, V, 302-04; VI, 151-52; *MASI*, 66, 69-70) and the *Harṣacarita* (CT, 217—the name given in this text is Susthiravaravarman).
7. *Infra.*
8. *Infra.*
9. *HC*, CT, 122.
10. See *JRAS*, 1900, 535.

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Maukhari king was a patron of learning. Bāṇa states that his *guru* Bhatsu (or Bharva) was honoured by the crowned Maukharis.[1] Avantivarman held sway over some parts of Magadha from the early days of his rule,[2] which came to an end a few years before 606 A.D., the year in which his son Grahavarman, after a brief period of rule, was killed by the Mālava ruler.

Grahavarman

Grahavarman's name does not find mention in any epigraph.[3] The *Harṣacarita* mentions him as the eldest son[4] of Avantivarman. Since Bāṇa's account is clear on the point that Grahavarman himself made negotiations for his forthcoming marriage with Rājyaśrī, daughter of Puṣpabhūti Prabhākaravardhana, and no mention is made of Avantivarman either in that context, or even in the detailed account of the marriage ceremony given by Bāṇa, it is generally held that his father was already dead by that time.[5]

The Maukhari-Puṣpabhūti alliance completely changed the power-axis in north India. The earlier Puṣpabhūti-Later Gupta alliance must have been galling to the Maukharis. Hence it is very likely that the Maukharis themselves took the initiative for entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Puṣpabhūtis in order to strengthen their position. Naturally, the Later Guptas reacted sharply to this alliance and made friends with the Gauḍas. Baṇa eulogises the union of the Puṣpabhūti and Maukhari families and compares them to Sun and Moon. It was, however, destined to be an ill-fated alliance. Very few royal marriages in history have brought with them such a woeful train of tragedies as that of Grahavarman and Rājyaśrī. Not very long after this marriage, king Prabhākaravardhana died, Grahavarman was murdered, Rājyaśrī was cast in prison,

1. *Kādambarī*, trans. by Ridding, 1.
2. Some scholars hold that even Śaśāṅka was initially a feudatory of Avantivarman (and also of his son Grahavarman). See Ganguly *IHQ*, XII, 456 f. Chattopadhyaya is of the view that the Later Guptas became subordinate rulers under the Maukharis and Mahāsenagupta's conquest upto the river Lauhitya was made as a feudatory of Avantivarman (*EHNI*, 274).
3. The view of Pires (*Maukharis*, 107) that there was a name ending in *varman* in the Deo Baranark inscription, which probably referred to Grahavarman, is not accepted by scholars.
4. *HC*, CT, 122.
5. The view that Avantivarman might have been alive at the time of the marriage but stayed back in the capital, deeming it unwise to leave it unguarded in the prevailing political situation (Tripathi, *HK*, 50), does not seem convincing. It has been pertinently argued that in the event of any threat to the Maukhari capital, the marriage ceremony could have been postponed and not only the king but even the crown-prince would have stayed at the capital. (Srivastava, *HHT*, 107 n). That there was no political crisis can also be inferred from the fact that Grahavarman stayed for several days at the bride's house after his marriage.

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and Rājyavardhana was killed. Most probably it was Devagupta, mentioned in the Madhuban and Banskhera plates as meeting defeat at the hands of Rājyavardhana, who was responsible for Grahavarman's death.[1] It may be recalled that Prabhākaravardhana had waged a war against Mālava.[2] Hence Devagupta, the Mālava ruler, finding the moment opportune, retalliated by leading an attack against Grahavarman, son-in-law of the Puṣpabhūti ruler.

Su-

As stated earlier, the *Harṣacarita* mentions Grahavarman as the eldest son of Avantivarman.[3] From Hiuen-tsang's account it appears that Harṣa was offered the crown of Kanauj.[4] But a Nalanda seal, however, mentions a king whose name begins with the letter *Su*,[5] as son of Avantivarman; and makes no mention of king Grahavarman. Either this Su- succeeded Grahavarman for a short period, after which the nobles, as per testimony of Hiuen-tsang, offered the crown to Harṣa;[6] or he was mere child at the time of Grahavarman's death and got the throne of Kanauj after Harṣa or probably after the usurper Aruṇāśva.[7]

The history of the Maukhari dynasty after Su- is difficult to trace. Some scholars consider Pūrṇavarman, ruler of Magadha and referred to by Hiuen-tsang as last of the race of Aśokarāja (Maurya[8]), as a Maukhari.[9] Pūrṇavarman was either an independent ruler of Magadha, or was appointed by Harṣa to rule over that region, probably to appease the Maukharis whose kingdom had now come under him. Hiuen-tsang who visited Nalanda in 637 A.D. refers to

1. To us neither the view that Śilāditya of Mo-la-po (Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, 563, 563-64, Mookerji, *Harsha*, 61-62) nor that Kalacuri Buddharāja (Ganguly, *IHQ*, XII, 464; *ibid.*, XXIII, 52) was responsible for Grahavarman's death seems to be convincing (see *Infra*).
2. *HC*, CT, 101.
3. *HC*, CT, 122.
4. See *Infra*.
5. See *Infra*. Chakravarti (as quoted by Ghosh, *El*, XXIV, 284 n. 6) suggested that after *Su*, there are traces of a letter which could be *ca*, and after this, the last visible letter seems to be part of *n* with a *reph* sign below it. Hence the name could have been Sucandravarman. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Ganapati Sastri's ed. p. 626) gives *Suvra* after *Graha*. Srivastava (*HHT*, 116) suggests that he could have been a different person perhaps a son of Grahavarman, though he does not press the point as it is not likely that Grahavarman had any issue, from Rājyaśrī in any case.
6. Tripathi, *HK*, 74.
7. Srivastava, *HHT*, 111 f. For details see Appendix 'The Position of Su in the Maukhari Chronology'.
8. Beal, *Records* II, 218.
9. Cunnigham, *ASR*, XV, 166; Pires, *op. cit.*, 129-30; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 86. Pires surmises that he was youngest brother of Grahavarman (*op. cit.*, 129-30) while Collins identified him with Grahavarman himself (*DGRD*, 26).

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Pūrṇavarman as 'of old days' (i.e. dead). It was only after his death that Harṣa appointed Mādhavagupta as ruler of that region.[1] Bhogavarman, known from a Nepal epigraph as 'the crest jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the valourous Maukhari race' who 'by his glory put to shame (all) hostile kings',[2] is taken to be another Maukhari ruler. Bhogavarman made an alliance with the Later Gupta ruler Ādityasena by marrying the latter's daughter, and with the Licchavis of Nepal by marrying his daughter, Vatsadevī, to king Śivadeva II.[3] It has been suggested that Bhogavarman perhaps came to occupy Kanauj, and it is because of this position that Ādityasena married his daughter to him.[4] A Svāmī Bhogavarman is referred to as the *dūtaka* of the grant of the time of Aṁśuvarman and Śivadeva dated 318 (G.E.?)[5]. Another inscription dated 39 refers to a Bhogavarman as son of *Rājaputra* Śūrasena and Bhogyadevī (Aṁśuvarman's sister)[6]. These two epigraphs seem to refer to one and the same Bhogavarman.[7] Some scholars identify Bhogavarman of these two epigraphs (years 318 and 39) with Bhogavarman, the son-in-law of Ādityasena,[8] and Basak even suggests that Bhogavarman's father Śūrasena might have ruled at Kanauj after Harṣa[9]. Others, however, take these as two different persons.[10] A few scholars suggest that one Manorathavarman, known from an epigraph[11], was also a Maukhari ruler.[12]

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1. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 67 n. 1.
2. *IA*, IX, 181.
3. *IA*, IX, 181.
4. Sinha, *DKM*, 302. It has been suggested that he might as well have been a vassal of Ādityasena (*DKM*, 302; Pires, *op. cit.*, 154).
5. *IA*, XIV, 97-98. Fleet read the date as 316 (*CII*, III, Appendix IV, 178).
6. *IA*, IX, 171; *CII*, III, App. IV, 179-80.
7. Fleet *CII*, III, App. IV, 177, n. 4.
8. Earlier Sinha (*DKM*, 303-04) identifying the two, suggested that Śūrasena might have got the throne of Kanauj after Aruṇāśva (or Arjuna) and that due to some political pressure his son Bhogavarman went to Nepal where he was appointed *dūtaka*. After some time Bhogavarman finding the circumstances favourable regained hold over Kanauj. Ādityasena, who harboured imperial ambition, won Bhogavarman over by marrying his daughter to him; the latter on his part agreed to rule as his vassal. Bhogavarman is not known to have borne imperial titles. But Sinha now (*DHM*, 161) takes them as two different persons and suggests that Bhogavarman, son-in-law of Ādityasena, was a scion of either Harivarman or Pūrṇavarman, and occupied Kanauj after Harṣa's death.
9. *HNEI*, 141.
10. *CII*, III, Appendix IV, p. 177, n. 4.
11. *EI*, 284 and n.
12. See Buddha Prakash, *AIHC*, 102-03.

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Extent of the Maukhari Kingdom

Maukhari coins have been found at Ahicchatrā, Ayodhya, Bhitaura (Faizabad district); seals of Maukhari rulers, at Asirgadh, Nalanda and Sohnag (near Kusinagara), and inscriptions of kings of that dynasty, at Jaunpur and Haraha (Barabanki district). The wars of Īśvaravarman (?) and of Īśānavarman against the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas probably 'were more or less in the nature of successful trials of arms' and do not seem to have entailed acquisition of territories.[1] The evidence of the Deo Baranark inscription shows that Magadha was part of the dominion of the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman. The identification of *Mahārāja* Śarvavarman of Nirmand inscription with Maukhari Śarvavarman is open to question. The find of a Maukhari seal at Asirgadh does not necessarily prove that the area was under the Maukharis. If the regions around Asirgadh and Nirmand are excluded from Maukhari dominions, even then the Maukhari Kingdom during its hay day must have extended up to Ahicchatrā and the frontiers of Thaneswar kingdom in the west and to Nalanda in the east. In the north, it probably extended to the Tarai region, and in the south, at least to the forest belt adjoining the southern extremity of Uttar Pradesh.[2]

APPENDIX

THE POSITION OF SU- IN THE MAUKHARI CHRONOLOGY[3]

The extant portion of the fragmentary seal of Su[4]- refers to him as son of Avantivarman. His name carries the titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirājā*. No mention, however, has been made of Grahavarman who has been referred to as the eldest son of Avantivarman in the *Harṣacarita*[5].

It is difficult to determine the place of king Su- in the Maukhari chronology. The following possibilities may, however, be suggested.

(1) Su- ruled for a short period between the death of Grahavarman[6] and Harṣa's accession to the throne of Kanauj. Harṣa's hesitation in accepting the throne of Kanauj[7] was perhaps occasioned by a twinge of conscience at the thought that he was depriving the brother of the late king of his legal right to the throne.

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1. See *supra*.
2. See Sinha, *DKM*, 203. The extent of the Maukhari kingdom was thus fairly large and the assumption of imperial titles by Īśānavarman and his successors was fully justified.
3. We have discussed this problem in greater detail in a paper published in Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume.
4. *Infra*.
5. *HC*, CT, 122.
6. R.C. Majumdar suggests the possibility of Su- being a protege of Śaśāñka (*HCIP*, III, 102).
7. *Vide* Watters, I, 343.

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The absence of Grahavarman's name in Su-'s seal could be explained by the circumstance that he was collateral.[1]

(2) Su- was a governor of Magadha during his father Avantivarman's reign. He rebelled and declared himself independent ruler with imperial titles when his elder brother Grahavarman succeeded his father to the throne of Kanauj. He might as well have joined hands with Devagupta and Śāśāṅka against his brother. When Grahavarman was killed in battle, the ministers of Kanauj, overlooking the claims of Su- to the throne, offered the crown to Harṣa.

(3) Su- was the eldest son of Avantivarman and succeeded to throne after his death. He, however, ruled for a short period and died sometime before Grahavarman married Rājyaśrī. After Su-'s death Grahavarman was the eldest of Avantivarman's sons and is referred to as such by Bāna.

As Su- ruled before Grahavarman, there is no question of the mention of Grahavarman's name in the seal of Su-.[2]

(4) Su-was a mere child at the time of Grahavarman's death and hence the ministers of Kanauj offered the throne to Harṣa. Su- got the Kanauj throne after Harṣa, or after Aruṇāśva, the usurper, was defeated by the forces under Wang-hiwen-tse.[3]

(5) Grahavarman took Suvratavarman as his second name—perhaps to indicate his steadfastness (*suvrata*) to the Buddhist faith.[4] The relevant text of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[5] reads *Īśāna Sarvapaṅktiśca Graha-suvra tathāparaḥ* which has been emended as—*Grahasuvrata(a)thāparaḥ* by Jayaswal.[6] It may be suggested that in 'Graha-Suvra' we have two names of one and the same ruler, rather than names of two different rulers. Bāṇa, a Brāhmaṇa, refers to this king by his original name (Grahavarman) while the seal has Su-(vrata-varman), the name that the king chose for himself.

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1. Collaterals are often not mentioned in the genealogies recorded in the epigraphs. The name of Skandagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty does not find mention in the genealogy recorded in the epigraphs of the descendants of his brother.
2. The fact that the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Ganapati Sastri's editions, p. 626) mentions Suvra or Suvrata (identified with Su- of the seal) after Graha (identified with Grahavarman Maukhari) does not rule out this view, as the same text mentions Śaśāṅka as predecessor of Jayanāga, while the case was just the reverse (see *DKM*, 220 f; Basak, *HNEI*, 166).
3. S. Chattopadhyaya, *IHQ*, XXX, 164-65; Srivastava, *AMK*, 24.
4. The evidence of *HC* shows that Grahavarman was a Buddhist (*HC*, CT, 232 f).
5. Ganapati Sastri's ed., p. 626.
6. Jayaswal, *IHI*, 45.

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B. THE LATER GUPTAS

The main sources of the history of the Later Gupta dynasty are epigraphs, particularly the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena and the Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II. Besides, there are also some coins ascribed to the rulers of this dynasty. Stray references to these rulers occur in the *Harṣacarita*, and the records of the Chinese pilgrims, Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, also refer indirectly to a few Later Gupta rulers.

The origin of the Later Guptas is shrouded in mystery. The only reference to their lineage is met with in the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, wherein the term *sadvaṁśa* (noble lineage) is used for the dynasty. In view of the facts that the Later Guptas ruled in the heart of the Imperial Gupta empire; that some names e.g. Kumāragupta and Viṣṇugupta—are common to the kings of both dynasties; and that the beginning of the Later Gupta rule coincides with the disintegration of the Imperial Gupta empire, some scholars conclude that the kings of this House were descendants of the Imperial Guptas.[1] But if it was so, it is difficult to understand why the Later Guptas did not make a reference to this relationship in their epigraphs which would have raised their status in the eyes of the people.

Similarly, it is also a matter of great controversy as to where the Later Gupta power first arose. Some scholars locate its origin in Mālava, and others in Magadha. The latter view seems preferable to the former (see Appendix).

The most important point in determining the chronology of the Later Guptas is the contemporaneity[2] of the fourth Later Gupta king, Kumāragupta, with the fourth Maukhari king, Īśānavarman, who is known to be ruling in 554 A.D.[3] King Mādhavagupta (seventh ruler in direct succession) is known to have been a contemporary of Harṣa (606-647 A.D.). His son Ādityasena's Shahpur inscriptionn is dated 66 (Harṣa *Saṁvat*=672 A.D.).

A brief history of the Later Guptas is traced below.

Kṛṣṇagupta and Harṣagupta

The Aphsad inscription lauds the valour of *nṛpa* Kṛṣṇagupta who defeated

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1. The view that Kṛṣṇagupta, the founder of the dynasty, may be identified with Govindagupta, son of Candragupta II, is untenable, as the latter lived more than half a century before Kṛṣṇagupta.
2. *Vide* Aphsad inscription.
3. *Vide* Haraha inscription.

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his enemies.[1] Kṛṣṇagupta's victories were in all probability attained while he was a feudatory of the then ruling Imperial Gupta king. Since the fourth Later Gupta ruler, Kumāragupta, was a contemporary of Maukhari Īśānavarman, whose Haraha inscription is dated 611 VS=554 A. D., Kṛṣṇagupta, the first Later Gupta ruler, perhaps ruled between *c.* 490 and 505 A. D.[2]

The reign of Harṣagupta, son and successor of Kṛṣṇagupta, may roughly be placed between 505 and 525 A.D. The Aphsad inscription refers to his valour and victories in terrible contests. Perhaps these include the battles fought by him on behalf of his Imperial Gupta overlord against the Hūṇa hordes who had made deep inroads into north India and caused considerable disturbance in the then body-politic of the country.[3] The marriage of his sister Harṣaguptā with Maukhari king Ādityavarman would naturally have led to close friendship and amity between the two rising Houses.

Jīvitagupta I

Jīvitagupta I is referred to in the Aphsad inscription as a terror to his enemies and performer of great feats in war. The title of *Kṣitīśacūḍāmaṇi* as against *nṛpa* of his predecessors in the same epigraph indicates that he enjoyed a status higher than that of his predecessors.

Jīvitagupta was perhaps a contemporary of Yaśodharman of Mālava whose last known date is 532-33 A. D., and whose spectacular military exploits were, to some extent, responsible for the fading out of the Imperial Gupta power. However, after the exit of Yaśodharman from the political scene, the Imperial Guptas once again would have come to the fore. Probably Jīvitagupta (I) was also a feudatory of the then Imperial Gupta ruler.

According to the Aphsad inscription, Jīvitagupta's valour caused 'terrible scorching fever' to his enemies, which they could not shake off even though they lived on the sea-shore or in the Himālayan regions. These campaigns in the Himālayan regions[4] and on the sea-shore[5] were probably carried out by him

1. Raychaudhuri, who believes that Mālava was the original home of the Later Guptas, includes Yaśodharman amongst those against whom Kṛṣṇagupta fought (*PHAI*, 601) while Sinha includes the Hūṇas (*DKM*, 158). Pires holds that he also defeated Harivarman Maukhari, which ultimately led to the conclusion of a matrimonial alliance between the two families (*op. cit.*, 62-63).
2. See Sinha, *DKM*, 157. We have generally followed Sinha regarding the dates of the Later Guptas.
3. Sinha (*DKM*, 158) identifies the Imperial Gupta overlord as Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and the Hūṇa potentate as, Mihirakula.
4. Basak identifies the region with Nepal (*HNEI*, 144).
5. It has been suggested that the ruler of this region, *i.e.*, Vaṅga was either Gopacandra or Dharmāditya (*DKM*, 162).

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as a feudatory chief. These exploits would have raised the status of this Later Gupta ruler and enhanced the prestige of his House.

Kumāragupta

Kumāragupta, son and successor of Jīvitagupta I, was highly ambitious and aspired for paramountcy in Northern India. His Maukhari rival was Īśānavarman who won victories over the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas,[1] and assumed the title of *māhārājādhirāja*.[2] The territorial ambitions of these two rulers brought them into conflict and the two Houses, earlier bound by a matrimonial alliance, now became bitter enemies and the wars between them overshadowed the history of North India in the second half of the sixth century A. D.

The Aphsad inscription speaks in a flambuoyant style of Kumāragupta's 'churning' the army of great Īśānavarman who was 'a very moon among the kings'. Evidently in the conflict with his Maukhari rival, Kumāragupta emerged victorious.[3] This victory of Kumāragupta was, in all probability, achieved some time after 554 A.D.—the date of the Haraha inscription which glorifies the ascendancy of Īśānavarman. After this victory Kumāragupta would certainly have set himself up as an independent king,[4] if he had not already assumed imperial status.

Kumāragupta is stated to have gone to Prayāga and immolated himself there in a fire of cow-dung cake.[5] There is a view that, unable to bear the humiliation of defeat at the hands of his enemies, Kumāragupta took this extreme step.[6] It is more likely that the self immolation at holy Prayāga was inspired by the ruler's religious zeal.[7] Most probably, Prayāga, where he consigned himself to the flames, was within his dominions, though for the performance of a religious act a king could as well go to a holy place outside his kingdom.[8]

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1. *Vide* Haraha inscription.
2. As met with in the epigraphs of his successors.
3. Fleet, *CII*, intro., 14-15; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 605; Sinha, *DKM*, 168.
4. Sinha, *DKM*, 169.
5. Or was it his normal funeral at Prayāga ?
6. Mookerji, *Harsha*, 55. Ray (*CR*, 1928, 207) suggests that probably 'he proceeded directly from the field of battle to Prayāga.....and there placed himself on the funeral pyre (apparently unable to bear the humilation of defeat)". Devahuti surmises that unable to achieve his objective of crushing his Maukhari adversary, Īśānavarman, he took such a step (*op. cit.*, 17).
7. See *infra*.
8. Basak suggests that Kumāragupta possibly advanced up to Allahabad from Magadha to meet the Maukhari army (*HNEI*, 145).

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Dāmodaragupta

Kumāragupta was succeeded by his son Dāmodaragupta. According to the Aphsad inscription, while "breaking up the proudly stepping array of the mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Huṇās (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious" and was revived by the touch of the hands of women of gods' (*suravadhūs*).[1] There is a great controversy regarding the ultimate fate of Dāmodaragupta, outcome of the battle, and the identification of the Maukhari adversary in question as the epigraph does not refer to him by name.

The reviving of Dāmodaragupta from an unconscious state by *Suravadhūs* has generally been interpreted to mean that he died in the fight[2] for the reference to *suravadhūs* would imply his going to heaven, though some scholars hold that the Later Gupta ruler had merely fainted and was not killed in the battle.[3]

The view of some scholars[4] that Dāmodaragupta was defeated and with his defeat the Later Guptas lost Magadha[5] and became confined to the Mālava region is hardly tenable. Had it been so, it would have been very difficult for Dāmodaragupta's son to carry his conquests as far as the Lauhitya region.[6] Many scholars, however, believe that Dāmodaragupta was victorious, though he was killed in the battle.[7]

As regards the Maukhari adversary of Dāmodaragupta, he has been identified by some with Īśānavarman and by other with Śarvavarman.[8] If he was Īśānavarman, he must have attempted to restore the lost prestige of his family after the death of Kumāragupta by waging a war against the latter's son. It is, however, equally possible that Dāmodaragupta went to war

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1. Fleet, *CII*, III, no. 42, p. 206.
2. Fleet, *CII*, III, 206; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 606, n. 1; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 55; Tripathi, *HK*, 45; Basak, *HNEI*, 146; Sinha, *DKM*, 174; Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 70. n.
3. K. Chattopadhyaya, *D. R. Bhandarkar Vol.*, 181. He emends *sukha spṛśya* for *sukha sparśād*. For a criticism of this theory, see Sircar in *JRASBL*, XI, 70 n. 5. He emphasises that the reference to *suravadhūs* could only be in the context of heaven and refers to passages in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to substantiate the view that Dāmodaragupta died a hero's death on the battlefield.
4. E.g. Mookerji, *Harsha*, 55; Ray, *CR*, 1928, 209; Basak, *HNEI*, 146.
5. Ray, *CR*, 1928. 210-11.
6. See Sinha, *DKM*, 175.
7. Majumder, *HB*, 46; Aravamuthan, *KMSA*, 92; Sinha, *DKM*, 174, etc, As pointed out by Majumdar (in *CHB* I (11), 228), a court poet is not likely to record the defeat of a patron king. Devahuti suggests that perhaps the battle was indecisive (*op. cit.*, 19).
8. See *supra*.

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against Śarvavarman,[1] the son and successor of Īśānavarman, as the latter had fought against Kumāragupta, the father of Dāmodaragupta.

Mahāsenagupta

Mahāsenagupta, son and successor of Dāmodaragupta, thought it expedient to cultivate friendly relations with the Puṣpabhūtis. In face of the hostile attitude of the powerful Maukharis, the marriage of his sister Mahāsenaguptā[2] to Ādityavardhana of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty must have been helpful in that direction. With the Puṣpabhūtis in the north-west as their allies, the Later Guptas could now feel secure against the Maukharis. In the east Varmans of Kāmarūpa had become a formidable power and were a potential threat to the Later Gupta territories.[3] Mahāsenagupta led an expedition against Susthitavarman, the king of Kāmarūpa, and vanquished him.[4] According to the Aphsad inscription of Mahāsenagupta's grandson, Ādityasena, this victory was still (*i.e.* even half a century later) sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya. This would imply that north Bengal and north Bihar had come under his sway.[5]

But towards the end of his career Mahāsenagupta had to face heavy odds and was destined to meet reverses. The Maukharis increased their territories at the cost of his dominions. The Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II attests to the hold of the Maukhari king Śarvavarman, and his son Avantivarman over a part of Magadha. The find of the seals of these two rulers at Nalanda would also support this view. The Gauḍas, who had been earlier defeated by the Later Guptas and the Maukharis, seem to have regained their strength under Jayanāga and Śaśāṅka, and posed a threat to the power of the Later Guptas. The Cālukyas had become a great power with expansionist ambitions, and their ruler Kīrttivarman (567–597 A.D.) is credited with

1. Tripathi, *HK.* 45; Pires, *op. cit.*, 90; Sinha. *DKM.* 173. For details see *supra.*
2. The view that Mahāsenaguptā was a sister of Mahāsenagupta is based on the similarity of names.
3. See Barua, *EHK.* 50-51.
4. The view that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari king is now not acceptable to scholars. For details see *supra.* According to Sircar (*JRASBL*, XI, 71), perhaps the Gauḍa ruler helped Mahāsenagupta in his expedition to Lauhitya. Chattopadhyaya (*EHNI*, 274), however, holds that Mahāsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa in the capacity of a vassal of Avantivarman Maukhari.
5. Sinha, *DHM*, 98. Majumdar (*HCIP*, III, 76, 92) identifies the Gauḍa victor of Doobi plates (for relevant part of text, see *IHQ*, XXVI, 242-43), who captured and later freed the Kāmarūpa princes Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman, with Mahāsenagupta. But, as Sinha points out, even taking that Mahāsenagupta had hold over Gauḍa, he would still have been referred to as a Magadhan rather than a Gauḍa ruler. Sinha would identify the Gauḍa ruler with Śaśāṅka (*DKM*, 243-44).

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victories over Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha[1] besides other regions. This claim seems exaggerated, but it looks certain that the Cālukyas were exerting some pressure on the territories of the Later Gupta king. In such a situation the feudal lords got a chance to assert independence. This Later Gupta ruler seems to have been under pressure from another direction as well, as Tibetan chronicles refer to the victorious march of Sron-btsan-sgampo (581-600 A.D.) upto Central India.[2] The evidence of the *Harṣacarita*[3] indicates that Mahāsenagupta was a king of Mālava. From this it may be inferred that he was forced to give up his territories in Magadha and retire to the Mālava region.[4] Mālava had been an important stronghold of the Imperial Guptas almost till the end of their rule.[5] The Later Guptas might have claimed suzerainty over that region as 'residuary legatees'.[6]

The territorial extent of the kingdom of Mālava over which Mahāsenagupta held sway has been a matter of difference of opinion among scholars. Relying on *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, which says that in cases where the word Mālava alone occurs, it should be taken to mean Eastern Mālava only, some scholars hold that Mālava of the *Harṣacarita* meant regions around Vidiśā.[7] As against this, it has been pointed out that the women folk of Ujjayinī (Western Mālava) are referred to as *Mālavī* in the *Kādambarī*. The Aihole inscription and the *Harṣacarita* refer to the Mālavas the Lāṭas (south Gujarat) and the Gurjaras (western Rajputana) together in a group, suggesting that they occupied contiguous territories. This would indicate that the Mālava kingdom included Western Mālava as well.[8]

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1. *IA*, XIX, 17, line 7.
2. Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 73; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 20.
3. This is based on the identification of Mālava prince Mādhavagupta mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* with the homonym mentioned in the Deo Baranark inscription as son of Mahāsenagupta.
4. Sinha earlier suggested the date 580 A. D. (*DKM*, 178), but now suggests 585 A. D. (*DHM*, 99). It seems that Mālava where Mahāsenagupta fell back formed part of the Later Gupta kingdom.
5. Except for short interregnums of the Hūṇas and Yaśodharman.
6. It has been suggested that the first or second Later Gupta potentate was initially a governor of Mālava under the Imperial Gupta overlords and it was because of this original connection with Mālava that Mahāsenagupta chose to settle there after being dispossessed of the Magadhan region (see Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 16).
7. Tripathi, *HK*, 46. It is held by some that in western Mālava Yásodharman's son and successor Śilāditya was ruling (Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, 545; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 61).
8. Cf. D. C. Ganguly, *JBORS*, XIX, 399-400. He cites the evidence of a few more epigraphs to substantiate his view. Mālava of *Harṣacarita* was different from Mo-la-po of Hiuen-tsang, as the latter was under the Valabhī ruler (Sinha, *DHM*, 100). Majumdar, however, thinks that Śilāditya of Valabhī had conquered a part of Western Mālava.

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Mahāsenagupta, it appears, could not rest in peace for long even in Mālava. The Abhona plates[1] of Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated Kalachuri *saṁvat* 347 (=595-96 A.D.) and issued from Ujjain, indicate that the regions around Ujjain were within the territory of that ruler. His gain was obviously at the cost of Mahāsenagupta, who, it seems, retreated from Ujjain to Vidiśā and ruled there for a few years more.[2]

Devagupta

The identity of Devagupta, referred to in Harṣa's epigraphs as one of rulers defeated by Rājyavardhana, is a matter of controversy. He has been taken variously as (i) the elder brother of princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta,[3] (ii) half-brother of these two princes (and their enemy),[4] (iii) brother of Mahāsenagupta,[5] (iv) cousin of Mahāsenagupta,[6] or (v) a scion of the collateral branch of the Later Gupta family.[7] It, however, seems certain that he belonged to the Later Gupta House.

The defeat of Kalacuri Budharāja, successor of Śaṅkaragaṇa, at the hands of the Cālukya Maṅgaleśa[8] perhaps offered Devagupta an opportunity to declare himself ruler of Mālava.[9] Another possibility is that Devagupta helped Śaṅkaragaṇa in his campaigns and got the kingdom of Mālava as a reward. The Abhona plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa[10] refer to his installing some families of kings and uprooting others. Devagupta and Mahāsenagupta might have been among the kings coming under the first and second categories respectively.[11] The sending away of his two sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to the Puṣpabhūti court was dictated by political stresses and strains[12] as also perhaps

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1. *EI*, IX, 296 ff.
2. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 21. She places his death in 601; but perhaps he died a couple of years later, probably in *c.* 604 A. D.
3. Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, 562. The absence of his name in the Aphsad inscription is perhaps because the epigraph follows genealogy not chronology.
4. Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 35-36.
5. Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 71 n.
6. Srivastava, *HHT*, 22.
7. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 608, n. 1. According to him, Devagupta might have "continued to pursue a policy hostile to the Puṣpabhūtis and the Maukharis, while Kumāra, Mādhava, the Gupta *Kulaputra* who connived at the escape of Rājyaśrī from Kuśasthala (Kanauj), and Ādityasena, son of Mādhava, who gave his daughter in marriage to a Maukhari may have belonged to a friendly branch" (*ibid.*).
8. The Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of 602-03 alludes to this victory (*IA*, XIX, 7f).
9. See Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 64.
10. *EI*, IX, 296 ff, text line 14.
11. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 63-64.
12. Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 36.

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by the king' anxiety to save them from the machinations of the iniquitous and unscrupulous Devagupta.[1]

The two sons of Mahāsenagupta, now proteges of Prabhākaravardhana, could not be established in Mālava, notwithstanding the efforts of their patron in that direction. Devagupta was longing for an opportunity to feed his grudge against the Puṣpabhūtis. On the death of that Puṣpabhūti ruler (606 A.D.), he entered into an alliance with the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka,[2] fell upon Prabhākaravaradhana's son-in law, Grahavarman Maukhari, and killed him in battle. He was planning at attack on Thaneswar itself, but was in the meanwhile forestalled by Prabhākaravardhana's son Rājyavardhana, who after a lightening march routed him completely.

Mādhavagupta

Mādhavagupta, son and successor of Mahāsenagupta, was a boyhood friend and favourite of Harṣa.[3] Mādhavagupta's son Ādityasena is known to be in possession of Magadha in 672 A.D. From this it may be inferred that Mādhavagupta also ruled in that region.[4] Hiuen-tsang in 641 A.D. refers to Harṣa as 'king of Magadha'. Mādhavagupta would have been then a mere governor and became an independent ruler most probably after 647 A.D. when Harṣa was no more on the scene.

The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena refers to Mādhavagupta's desire to associate himself with the glorious Harṣadeva. From the reference in the *Harṣacarita* to Kumāra being annointed king,[5] some scholars infer that Harṣa conferred kingship of Magadha on Mādhavagupta, who was till then a governor of the Puṣpabhūti ruler.[6]

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1. Pires, *op. cti.*, 112.
2. It has been suggested that the alliance of these two rulers, both followers of Brahmanism, was against the Puṣpabhūti and Maukhari rulers who had Buddhistic leanings (Pires, *op. cit.*, 112-13).
3. He accompanied the king in his first campaign and also in the search for Rājyaśrī in the Vindhyan forests. He is perhaps the Mālava prince whom Bāṇa refers to as seated behind king Harṣa in the royal court (*HC*, CT, 66).
4. Prince Kumāragupta, elder brother of Mādhavagupta, was perhaps killed in a battle against Devagupta, (Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 36), or was killed by Śaśāṅka together wtth Rājya (Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, 556n). He has, however, been identified by some with 'Kumāra' who is said to have been installed as a viceroy by Harṣa (see Sircar's view in *IHR*, I, 122). Sircar includes the possibility of his being appointed governor of eastern Mālava by Harṣa (*JRASBL*, XI, 71). Some identify him with Śrī Kumāra of Mālava who, according to the *Harṣacarita* (original p. 100, CT, 76 and n). was rescued from a mad elephant by Harṣa (Mookerji, *Harsha*, 53 n).
5. *HC* (original) p. 100.
6. See also *DKM*, 279.

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Political disintegration set in northern India after the death of Harṣa and Aruṇāśva or Arjuna, a governor of Tīrabhukti[1] during Harṣa's rule who also held the rank of a minister,[2] assumed imperial status. Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa occupied parts of Bengal.[3] In this period of turmoil Mādhavagupta must have set himself up as an independent ruler in Magadha.[4] When the Tibetan and Nepalese armies, coming to the help of the Chinese envoy Wang-hiuen-tse, invaded Indian territory to punish Aruṇāśva[5] who had earlier, for some reasons,[6] attacked the Chinese envoy, Mādhavagupta does not seem to have involved himself in this war. Aruṇāśva, together with a large number of his men, was captured and taken to China. The Chinese sources claim the conquest of 'Central India' or Magadha by these forces; but this seems to be an exaggeration. The conquest of the invaders was, in all likelihood, confined to the Tīrabhukti region.[7]

The Aphsad inscription refers to Mādhavagupta's killing of his enemies. But it is difficult to say whether these exploits were accomplished when he was a governor under Harṣa or after he had become an independent ruler. It is not unlikely that after Harṣa's death he tried to put an effecctive curb on Arjuna's expansionist ambitions.

Ādityasena

The Shahpur inscription of year 66 (in all probability in Harṣa era and hence equivalent to A.D. 672) does not give any imperial titles to Ādityasena. This absence of royal title has been construed by some scholars as indicative of his feudatory status.[8] However, it may as well be taken as a chance

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1. *DKM*, 284; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 226.
2. *IA*, IX, 20f.
3. *Vide* Nidhanpur copper plates of Bhāskaravarman, *EI*, XII, 65 ff.
4. *DKM*, 281, cf. the title *paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *mahādevī* for his queen in the Deo Baranark inscription (*infra*).
5. *IA*, IX, 20.
6. The Chinese envoy originally meant for Harṣa's court seems to have ignored Aruṇāśva, the usurper.
7. *DKM*, 283-84.
8. Some scholars (Barua, *op. cit.*, 71-72) believe that the find of the seals of Bhāskaravarman at Nalanda indicates his rule over that region, which continued even under his successors. But this argument is hardly tenable, for the seals in question could have reached there in the course of correspondence and need not be considered proof positive of his overlordship over that region. As for the successor of Bhāskaravarman, it is known that soon after his death, his dynasty was overthrown by one Śālastambha by name. Nor is there any sound basis for the view that Ādityasena was a feudatory of the Valabhī king Dharasena IV (Jayaswal, *IHI*, 66-68) or of the Tibetan ruler of that time (a view put forth by Sinha in *DKM*, 287, though rejected by him later).

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omission.[1] The imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājājdhirāja* are met with in the Aphsad and Mandara hill inscriptions of that ruler. Obviously he ruled for a few years more, probably upto *c.* 680 A.D. It is further stated in the inscription that 'the darting fire of the prowess of (his) feet, had thrown into it (to feed it) the locks of hair on the top of the heads of all (other) kings'.[2]

The Vaidyanath temple (Deoghar) inscription,[3] datable to *c.* 16th century on palaeographic grounds, mentions that Ādityasena, master of a kingdom extending upto the sea, arrived with his queen Koṣadevi[4] from the Cola city and having performed three *aśvamedhas* (horse-sacrifices) with his wife, made the *kīrtti* and also built a temple to Nṛhari. Ādityasena and Koṣadevī of the epigraph should be identified with the Later Gupta king of the same name and his queen (Koṇadevī). Two inscriptions on the Mandar hill refer to Koṇadevī's getting a tank excavated, and this act of piety is the *kīrtti*[5] referred to in the Vaidyanath temple inscription. As for the expression 'coming from Cola city' it must be said that neither Ādityasena hailed from Cola city nor does it seem likely that he had acquired it by conquest.[6] It might well be that he had gone there on a pilgrimage.[7] The king might have performed an *aśvamedha* or *aśvamedhas* after making his conquests.[8]

An epigraph[9] from Dudhapani (Hazaribagh district) in *c.* 8th century characters, mentions one Ādi Śiṁha of Magadha 'in former days', who made the grant of a village and compares him with Jarāsandha (king of Magadha). If this Ādi Siṁha is the same as the Later Gupta Ādityasena, it would indicate that his kingdom extended to Chota Nagpur hills.

1. It has also been suggested that upto 672-73 A.D. Ādityasena was merely a local though independent ruler (Sinha, *DKM*, 288) and that it was after the decline of Tibetan imperialism (Sinha, *DHM*, 158) and end of the rule of Bhāskaravarman's dynasty shortly after his death that Ādityasena set himself up as a paramount sovereign assuming imperial titles.
2. *CII*, III, 208.
3. *Ibid.*, 212-14, n.
4. Koṣadevī is incorrect as the form 'Koṇadevī' is met with in the epigraphs pertaining to Ādityasena's time (Basak, *HNEI*, 150).
5. Generally 'any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the contributor of it' (R.G. Bhandarkar as quoted by Fleet, *CII*, III, 212, n. 6).
6. See Aiyangar, *JIH*, V, 325. Srivastava, however, holds that Ādityasena conquered Cola country (*HHT*, 132-33).
7. Bloch suggests that writer of the Vaidyanatha inscriptions had knowledge of Ādityasena's Mandar hill inscriptions and also of a tradition prevalent locally about a Cola king suffering from leprosy and getting cured after bathing in the tank, and he added the substance of the legend to the epigraphic evidence (*ASIAR*, 1902-03-230).
8. Majumdar is sceptic about taking the evidence of Deoghar inscription seriously (*HB*, 90 n. 21).
9. *EI*, II, 343.

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The find-spots of the Ādityasena's epigraphs (Aphsad, Gaya district; Shahpur, nineteen miles from Bihar town; and Mandar hill, Bhagalpur district), and the Dudhapani epigraph (Hazaribagh) as also the internal evidence contained in them, together with the accounts of the Chinese and Corean travellers[1] indicate that Ādityasena's empire extended 'from the Ganges in the north to the hills of Chota-Nagpur in the south, along the river Gomati in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east'.[2] He married his daughter to Bhogavarman Maukhari.[3] Ādityasena's only known date is 672 A.D.[4] He perhaps ruled till *c.* 680 A.D.

Devagupta II and Viṣṇugupta

Devagupta, son of Ādityasena from Mahādevī Koṇadevī, succeeded his father to the throne in *c.* 680 A.D. This ruler, in all probability was the paramount severeign of northern India defeated by Cālukya Vinayāditya, as per records of his successors.[5] Since this exploit is not mentioned in Vinayāditya's grant of 616 Śaka (=694 A.D.), it should be placed later than that date but before 696 A.D., the year in which his son Vijayāditya came to throne.[6] Devagupta has also been identified by some scholars[7] with Devavarman mentioned by the Corean traveller Hwui-lun who stayed at Nalanda between 675 A.D. and 685 A.D. The king has been given the epithets *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* and *paramśevara* in the Deo Baranark inscription, indicative of his imperial status.

Viṣṇugupta came to the throne after his father Devagupta. The Mangraon inscription refers him as *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī* Viṣṇugupta.[8]

1. The Corean pilgrim Hwui-lun (referred to by I-tsing, *Life and Travels of I-tsing*, xxxvi) records that king 'Sun-Army' (Ādityasena) built a temple two stages to the east of the Mahābodhi temple. Some scholars identify Mahābodhi temple with the famous temple of the name at Bodhgayā. Others, however, do not agree with this identification and hold that since Hwui-lun seems to place it 40 stages (i.e. about 360 Kms.) west of the Deer Temple (at Sarnath), it should be located in west Uttar Pradesh which perhaps was within the kingdom of Ādityasena (Sinha, *DKM*, 297-98; for details, *ibid.*, 294-98).
2. Sinha, *DKM*, 301. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI*, 610-11) is undecided whether the king in question was Ādityasena or Devagupta.
3. *IA*, IX, 181.
4. *Vide* Shahpur inscription.
5. *EI*, V, 203 (text). IX, 202; X, 16.
6. Since a similar victory has been claimed for Vijayāditya, it has been suggested that he as a prince participated in the war on behalf of his father.
7. Basak, *HNEI*, 155; Sinha, *DKM*, 309. For different views regarding the identification see Sinha, *DKM*, 306-09.
8. *EI*, XXVI, 241-46; *JBRS*, XXX, 199 f. On palaeographic grounds the inscription is datable to a period much later than that of Nalanda seal of Viṣṇugupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Hence the identification of Viṣṇugupta with the Later Gupta ruler of that name is certain.

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The inscription is dated in his 17th regnal year, and he might have ruled for a few years more.[1]

Jīvitagupta II

Jīvitagupta II was the son and successor of Viṣṇugupta. His Deo Baranark inscription[2] (25 miles from Arrah) records the grant of the village Vāruṇikā[3] (modern Deo Baranark), which had formerly been bestowed by the kings Bālāditya, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, to the Sun (temple). Gomatikoṭṭaka, the site of the victory camp, from which the record was issued, was, in all probability, on the bank of the Gomati,[4] which obviously formed part of his empire. The Magadhan ruler whom Hui-chao describes as holding sway over Kūśīnagara, Sarnath, Rājagṛha and Mahābodhi (Gaya) during his visit to these places in *c.* 723-24 A.D., is identified by some scholars with Jīvitagupta[5] II.

The reference to Jīvitagupta's military camp in the Deo Baranark inscription indicates that he was engaged in a fight against some adversary. The *Gauḍavaho* refers to the victory of Yaśovarman over the king of Magadha. Jīvitagupta seems to be this Magadhan ruler who, on being invaded by Yaśovarman, is stated to have first fled, but later on, summoning courage, fought him, but was ultimately defeated and slain in the battle.[6]

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1. Basak thinks it not unlikely that Viṣṇugupta was the Magadhan ruler defeated by Yaśovarman (*HNEI*, 260). However, it is more likely that it was Jīvitagupta II who was defeated by Yaśovarman. (See *infra*).
2. *Infra.*
3. Fleet reads *kiśo* (?) *ravā* (?) *ṭa*(?) *ka* (?) and is undecided as to whether the village granted was Vāruṇikā or Kiśoravāṭaka (*CII*, III, 214). Majumdar suggests that possibly the village granted was Kiśoravāṭaka (*IC*, XI, 124-25), which might have been situated in the neighbourhood of Gomatikoṭṭaka, along the river Gomati. But Sircar's reading (*JRASBL*, XI, 73) *Kiśoravaḍavāgomahi(ṣya)(dhikṛta*)* clearly shows that there is no reference to any village in this context.
4. R.S. Sharma, however, holds that Gomatikoṭṭaka may have been situated in Western Bihar *CHB*, 331).
5. *JIH*, XLV, 166.
6. Strangely enough only one verse (no. 1073) of the *Gauḍavaho*, towards the end of the work, incidentally refers to the slaying of the Gauḍa king. According to this work at the request of the assembly of the learned to narrate the story of slaying of the king of Magadha by Yaśovarman, Vākpati tells them to listen 'to the destruction of the eastern king by Yaśovarman' and adds in the next verse that the *Gauḍavaho* had been composed by him (Pandit, *Gauḍavaho*, intro. xlviii).
   On the basis of these statements of Vākpati, some hold that it is the king of Magadha who has been referred to by him as the ruler of 'eastern country' and of Gauḍa (Sinha, *DKM*,

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Rāmagupta and Jivagupta

With the death of Jīvitagupta II, the rule of the Later Gupta dynasty did not come to an end. The Katra copper plate inscription,[1] refers to one *Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī* Jīvagupta son of *Paramamāheśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śri* Rāmagupta. The fact that this Jīvagupta has been referred to as *laghu* (younger) suggests that there was before him another ruler of that name in the dynasty. Since palaeographically the inscription has been dated to the first half of the eighth century A.D. and the epigraph shows that Tīrabhukti formed part of the territories of Jīvagupta, it seems that, after Jīvitagupta II one Rāmagupta related to the Later Gupta family established his authority in north Bihar in *c.* 725 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Jīvagupta. Despite high sounding titles, these two rulers do not seem to have played any significant role in the history of the time. In fact the era of *Pax Magadhica* established by the Imperial Guptas and restored by Ādityasena had ended with the death of Jīvitagupta II.

APPENDIX

ORIGINAL HOME OF THE LATER GUPTAS

There are two contending theories—the Mālava theory and the Magadha theory—regarding the original home of the Later Guptas. The advocates of the Mālava theory[2] are of the view that that region was the centre of their activities till their eclipse after the rise of the Puṣpabhūtis under Harṣa. They argue that

(i) the *Harṣacarita* refers to Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta as Mālava princes and as such their father Mahāsenagupta and his predecessors should be taken as rulers of Mālava,

(ii) Magadha, the heart land of the empire of the Imperial Guptas could not have come under the rule of the Later Guptas before the end of the Imperial Guptas,

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315; Pandit, *Gauḍavaho*, xxiv; xxvi, 354). Sinha points out that there is no evidence to prove Gauḍa supremacy over Magadha in the first half of the eighth century A.D., while there is some evidence to show Magadhan suzerainty over Gauḍa (*DKM*, 161). According to Majumdar, 'if both Magadha and Gauḍa were under one and the same ruler, then it was perhaps the ruler of Gauḍa who held his sway over Magadha rather than *vice-versa*, as otherwise we cannot justify the title *Gauḍavaho*' (*HB*, 75). K.L. Barua identifies the *Gauḍādhipa* with Harṣadeva, the king of Kāmarūpa (*op. cit.*, 114 ff) and H.C. Ray (*DHNI*, I, 277) suggests the identification of *Magadhanātha* with the Śaila prince Śrīvardhana.

1. *EI*, XXXV, 125 ff.
2. Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 36; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 53-56; Raychaudhuri, *JBORS*, 1929, 651 f; *PHAI*, 623-25; Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 69 f.

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(iii) In the Deo Baranark inscription Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, the two Maukhari rulers, are mentioned immediately after Bālāditya (of the Imperial Gupta dynasty), as donors of the village Vāruṇikā (identified with Deo Baranark in the Shahabad district of Bihar), and hence the Maukharis and not the Later Guptas held sway over Magdha after king Bālāditya.

(iv) The Haraha inscription records that Īśānavarman from his seat of government in what is now Uttar Pradesh had extended his conquests as far as the sea coast in Bengal. Moreover, the Maukhari epigraphs from Barabar and Nagarjuni hills (Gaya district), datable roughly to the beginning of the sixth century A.D., indicate that they, and not the Later Guptas, ruled in Magadha.

(v) Hiuen-tsang who visited Magadha in the first half of the seventh century A.D. mentions Pūrṇavarman and Śaśāṅka as kings of Magadha and makes no mention of the contemporary Later Gupta ruler, Mādhavagupta.

The above arguments in favour of Mālava being the original home of the Later Guptas are apparently quite forceful. But no less forceful are the arguments put forth in favour of the view that Magadha was their original home.[1] They are—

(i) All the epigraphs pertaining to the Later Gupta rulers (Ādityasena, Jīvitagupta II, Viṣṇugupta and Jīvagupta) have been found in Magadha.

(ii) Bāṇa's reference to Mādhavagupta's father (Mahāsenagupta) as a king of Mālava does not necessarily imply that the Later Guptas did not rule over Magadha earlier. It may well be that Bāṇa's reference pertains to the period when the Later Guptas had lost their territories in Magadha and became confined to the Mālava region.

(iii) If Mālava had been their original kingdom, it would have been almost impossible for the early Later Gupta rulers—Jīvitagupta I and Kumāragupta I—to have carried their victorious arms as far as the eastern coast as recorded in the Aphsad inscription. The conquest of Lauhitya (Brahmaputra valley) by Mahāsenagupta would look more practical with the King's seat of government in Magadha rather than in Mālava. Besides Mahāsenagupta would have hardly thought it prudent to march his army to Lauhitya through the territories of the formidable Maukharis, his sworn enemies, which

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1. Fleet, *CII*, III, intro., 14; Basak, *HNEI*, 142; Sinha, *DKM*, 135 f; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 17f, etc. We may also mention the view of R.D. Banerji (*JBORS*, XIV, 254 f) which cuts the very root of the Mālava origin of the Later Guptas. According to him, Later Gupta ruler Mādhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, was different from the Mālava prince Mādhavagupta, referred to in the *Harṣacarita* (whose father's name is not mentioned in that work). Therefore, the Later Guptas ruled in Magadha only. We, however, agree with the view that the two were identical.

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lay in between. On the other hand, his attack on the Brahmaputra valley would look more feasible if his kingdom lay to the east of the Maukharis and close to Kāmarūpa.[1]

(iv) The rule of Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman in Magadha (as borne out by the Deo Baranark inscription)[2] might have followed the discomfiture of Mahāsenagupta and his retreat to Mālava. The Later Guptas can be presumed to have ruled in Magadha prior to that event. The Maukhari ruler Īśānavarman no doubt lead a successful compaign against the Gauḍas.[3] But it seems to have been more in the nature of a successful raid and did not lead to the annexation of that region to the Maukhari kingdom. And whatever impact it might have had on Magadha would have been wiped out when he was defeated by the Later Gupta ruler Kumāragupta. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Maukhari line of Harivarman and his successors were the lineal descendants of the line of Yajñavarman ruling in Magadha.[4]

(v) The absence of any reference to Mādhavagupta's name in connection with Magadha by Hiuen-tsang may be explained by the fact that he mainly recorded the activities of rulers who either supported and patronised Buddhism (e.g. Pūrṇavarman) or were violently opposed to the faith (e.g. Śaśāṅka), and no wonder left out the names of such kings as were not deeply connected with Buddhism either way. It may also be that during the period of Hiuen-tsang's visit, Mādhavagupta's status was only that of a governor (of Harṣa)[5] and it was only later on that he became an independent ruler.

(vi) The fact that the date of the rise of the Later Guptas coincided with the period of the rule of the later weak rulers of the Imperial Gupta dynasty in Magadha, points to the possibility of the Later Guptas having had their stronghold in Magadha, in all probability as feudatories of the Imperial

1. See Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 18. Raychaudhuri, who is a forceful advocate of the theory of Mālava origin, however, suggests that like Yaśodharman of Mālava, who ruled about half a century earlier, Mahāsenagupta would have conquered the region around Brahmaputra even from Mālava (*PHAI*, 625). Taking into consideration the heriditary animosity between the Later Guptas and the Maukharis for successive generations, the view of Pires (*Maukharis*, p. 102) that the then ruling Maukhari ruler would not only have allowed Mahāsenagupta's army to pass through his territories but even helped him against the Kāmarūpa ruler, does not seem much convincing.
2. *Infra.*
3. This conquest, according to some scholars, might have been made by him on behalf of the imperial Gupta ruler of the time.
4. Pires (*op. cit.*, 53), however, considers Harivarman either the brother's or sister's son of Anantavarman. Palaeographic considerations would place the Barabar and Nagarjuni hill inscriptions of Anantavarman much earlier than the Haraha inscription of 554 A.D. N.G. Majumdar (*IA*, XLVI, 127) does not favour the view of Ray (*CR*, XXVI, 1928, 210) that kings of the line of Yajñavarman were governors of kings of Harivarman's family.
5. See *infra.*

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Guptas.[1] It may be noted that the period of early Later Gupta rulers also coincides with the reign period of the illustrious Yaśodharman of Mālava. Hence it would be difficult to explain the rise of the Later Gupta power in Mālava during that period.

(vii) One of the considerations that might have led Harṣa to appoint Mādhavagupta as governor of Magadha was that the latter's ancestors had ruled there earlier.[2]

It would thus seem that there is weightier evidence in favour of accepting the view that it was in Magadha that the early Later Gupta chiefs successfully carved out a small kingdom for themselves on the ruins of the empire of the Imperial Guptas. Their hold over Magadha must have brought them immense prestige as it was the kings of Magadha who had for long centuries commanded Imperial status and were bathed in the aura of glory in the popular mind. The rulers of this dynasty very probably adopted *gupta*-ending names to impress upon the people that they were legatees of the Imperial Guptas.

C. THE PUṢPABHŪTIS

The Puṣpabhūtis played an important role in the political history of northern India, particularly from the closing years of the sixth century A.D. to the end of Harṣa's reign in 648 A.D. Fortunately, a fairly detailed account can be constructed of the history of the last three Puṣpabhūti kings on the available source, most of which pertain to the reign of Harṣa,[3] the most illustrious and remarkable king of the dynasty.

Sources

The historical romance, *Harṣacarita*, by Bāṇa, the renowned prose writer who enjoyed the patronage of king Harṣa, provides detailed information on his early life and also throws light on the reigns of Prabhākaravardhana and Rājyavardhana. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* makes reference to Harṣa-Śaśāṅka conflict and also throws light on the caste of Harṣa. Chinese pilgrim

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1. Their feudatory status is attested to by the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena which does not mention imperial titles with the names of the rulers.
2. Majumdar in *CHB*, 689. It has also been argued that if Mālava had been the ancestral home of the Later Guptas, Harṣa would have preferred Mādhavagupta for governing that region to appointing him as viceroy of Magadha (See Sinha, *DKM*, 155).
3. The name was Harṣa, and not Śrī Harṣa, as taken by some scholars. Had the latter been the case, we should have had *Śrī Śrī Harṣa* and not *Śrī Harṣa* in the epigraphs. Bāṇa's work itself is entitled *Harṣacarita*. He is mentioned as *Harṣa mahānṛpa* in the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V (*IA*, XVI, 22), and *Harṣadeva* in the Nausari grant (*JBBRAS*, VI, p. 1 ff) and the Aphsad inscription (*infra.*).

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Hiuen-tsang's account is another contemporary source material bearing on the history of the reign of Harṣa and also makes references to the events of the reign of Rājyavardhana. Besides, we have authentic epigraphic evidence in the Banskhera and Madhuban plates and Nalanda and Sonpat seals of Harṣa.[1] The Aihole inscription of the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II[2] and a few epigraphs of his successors as also a few Valabhī records[3] also throw light on the reign of Harṣa. Numismatic evidence, though not rich, is not lacking.[4]

Puspabhūti history upto Rājyavardhana

Hiuen-tsang mentions Harṣa as coming of *Feishe* (Vaiśya) caste.[5] The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* specifically refers to Harṣa as belonging to the Vaiśya caste.[6]

The *vardhana*-ending names of all the rulers of the dynasty as also the *bhūti*-ending of the dynastic name also indicate that the Puṣpabhūtis were Vaiśyas.[7]

According to Bāṇa, the first ruler of the family was a chief named Puṣpabhūti[8] of whom he gives a semi-mythical account[9] and begins the historical narrative of the family with Prabhākaravardhana. Epigraphs, however, furnish us the following genealogy of the Puṣpabhūti rulers :

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1. All these epigraphs have been dealt with below (*infra.*).
2. *EI*, VI, 6f.
3. Eg. Nausari grant (*JBBRAS*, VI, 1.f).
4. R. Burn, *JRAS*, 1906, 843 f; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 115-18; Hoernle, however, doubted the ascription of these coins to *Harṣa* (*JRAS*, 1909, 446). Bajpai while agreeing with the views of Burn also reports the find of a new coin, a gold one, of Harṣa (*JNSI*, XXVII, 103-06).
5. Watters, 1, 343.
6. Ganapati Sastri's edition, 1925, 634.
7. Some scholars, however, hold that the Puṣpabhūtis were kṣatriyas. They argue that *Feishe* of Hiuen-tsang should be taken to refer to the 'Bais' Rajputs (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 432-33; Bühler, *EI*, I, 68, n. 4) and that the comparison of the Puṣpabhūti and Maukhari houses by Bāṇa with Sun and Moon suggests that the intention was to convey their being Sūryavaṁśī and Candravaṁśī kṣatriyas respectively. (Ray, *CR*, XXVI, 1928, 203). It has also been pointed out that Kṣatriya Grahavarman would not have married Rājyaśrī as his first queen (which she, in all probability, was) if she had belonged to the Vaiśya caste (Srivastava, *HMK*, 5-6). Jayaswal, on the basis of certain stanzas in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, connects the Puṣpabhūti family with Yaśodharman—Viṣṇuvardhana (*IHI*, 23).
8. Since this form occurs in the *Harṣacarita*, it should be accepted, and need not be amended to *Puṣyabhūti* as suggested by Bühler (*EI*, I, 68 n).
9. The overpowering of a mythical Nāga king by Puṣpabhūti may symbolically depict the defeat of some king of Nāga family at the hands of that ruler.

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Naravardhana = Vajriṇīdevī
|
Rājyavardhana = Apsarodevī
|
Ādityavardhana = Mahāsenaguptādevī[1]
|
Prabhākaravardhana[2] = Yaśomatīdevī[3]
|
Rājyavardhana II Harṣavardhana

The first three rulers of the dynasty have been designated merely as *mahārājas* (feudatory rulers) but the last three as *mahārājādhirājas* (i.e. independent kings).

Since the accession of Harṣa took place in 606 A.D.,[4] the year when Prabhākaravardhana died, the latter's rule may be placed between *c.* 580 and *c.* 606 A.D. The reign period of the three predecessors of Prabhākaravardhana may tentatively be placed between *c.* 500-580 A.D.[5] They were probably feudatories of the Imperial Guptas.[6]

The *Harṣacarita* speaks of Prabhākaravardhana as "a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of Gurjara king, a bilious fever to that scent-elephant, the lord of Gandhāra, destroyer of the skill of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper of Mālava's glory."[7] From this

1. She is generally taken to be the sister of the Later Gupta ruler Mahāsenagupta on the basis of the similarity of names.
2. Also known as Pratāpaśīla (*HC*, CT, 101).
3. The family of Yaśomatī (Yaśovatī of *HC*) is not known. Hoernle (*JRAS*, 1903, 556) and Mookerji (*Harsha*, 61, 64) take her to be the daughter of Yaśodharman and sister of Śilāditya of Mālava. Had she been daughter of such an illustrious ruler, this fact would naturally have been highlighted in the *Harṣacarita*. Besides, names of brother and sister in some cases could be similar but hardly those of father and daughter. Some scholars (e.g. Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 38) reject Hoernle's theory on chronological grounds as well. It is argued that the daughter of Yaśodharman (known date 533 A.D.) could not have been married to Prabhākaravardhana whose first son was born in 586 A.D. Moreover, Bāṇa's account (*HC*, CT, 152) shows that Yaśomatī's parents were alive when she immolated herself (in 606 A.D.). This seems to rule out the possibility of Yaśodharman being her father, as that king must have been dead long before.
4. See Appendix 'Harṣa Era'.
5. Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 97.
6. Majumdar also includes the possibility of these rulers being feudatories of the Hūṇas or even of the Maukharis (*HCIP*, III, 97).
7. *HC*, CT, 133. Hoernle (*JRAS*, 1903, 558-59) and Mookerji (*Harsha*, 61) hold that the then Mālava ruler was Śilāditya, son of king Yaśodharman, and despite his Hūṇa alliance, he had to surrender his son Bhaṇḍi to the Puṣpabhūti ruler. This view is not acceptable to most of the scholars.

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description it is not clear whether Prabhākaravardhana actually defeated these rulers[1] or only posed a threat to them.[2]

Prabhākaravardhana had three issues from Yaśomatīdevī-Rājyavardhana, Harṣavardhana and Rājyaśrī.[3] When they were growing up their maternal uncle sent his son Bhaṇḍi to serve them.[4] Later on the Mālava ruler, Mahāsenagupta, sent his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to live as companions[5] to the Puśpabhūti princes. After sometime, young princess Rājyaśrī was given away in marriage to Grahavarman, son of Avantivarman Maukhari.[6]

The Hūṇas created trouble on the northern borders of the Thaneswar kingdom, and Prabhākaravardhana dipatched his elder son, Rājyavardhana, to beat back the invaders.[7] Harṣa also joined his elder brother with a cavalry force but did not proceed beyond the skirts of the Himālayas where he engaged himself in hunting.

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1. Smith (*EHI*, 349), Vaidya (*HMHI*, I, 1f) and Mookerji (*Harsha*, 11), for example, believe that Prabhākara defeated those powers.
2. Majumdar (*HCIP*, III, 97-98) and Tripathi (*HK*, 79) are sceptical about the actual conquest. The *Harṣacarita* refers to prince Rājyavardhana's fight against the Hūṇas. It seems that he successfully repulsed them for we do not hear of any Hūṇa invasion at least during the reign of Harṣa.
3. Vaidya, on the basis of astronomic evidence culled from the *Harṣacarita*, reckons that Harṣa was born on 4th June, 590 A.D. (*HMHI*, 1, 43). The evidence of *Harṣacarita* indicates that there was an interval of six years between the birth of Rājyavardhana and Rājyaśrī, and about two years between that of Harṣa and Rājyaśrī. Hence Rājyavardhana's birth may be placed in 586 A.D. and that of Rājyaśrī in 592 A.D. See also Mookerji, *Harsha*, 69; Pires, *op. cit.*, 162; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 65.
4. Bhaṇḍi (from Sanskrit *Bhaṇḍa*) meaning buffoon is a curious name. Hoernle (*JRAS*, 1903, 560) and Mookerji (*Harsha*, 61) hold that it is a Hūṇic rather than Sanskrit name. The view (Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, 556; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 12 n) that he was son of Śilāditya and grandson of Yaśodharman is untenable. Had it been so, this relationship would certainly have found mention in the *Harṣacarita* (See also Vaidya, *HMHI*, 1, 38). Pires is of the view that Mālava was bestowed upon Bhaṇḍi after it was conquered from Devagupta, and he founded the 'Bhaṇḍi' dynasty which is referred to in some epigraphs (*op. cit.*, 121).
5. *HC*, CT, 119.
6. *HC*, CT, 128 ff.
7. *HC*, CT, 132. The *Harṣacarita* states that Rājyavardhana marched towards Uttarāpatha and entered the Himālayas near Kailāsa to defeat the Hūṇas. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara places Uttarāpatha to the north of Pṛthūdaka (district Karnal). The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* includes Gandhāra, Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvatī within that region. But Bāṇa's mention of Kailāsa in this context has led some scholars to suggest that the Hūṇas had their base in Tibet. Devahuti is of the view that 'they had a principality on the banks of the Satluj, where it flows in the hilly tracts of the Gangri region' (Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 60).

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Meantime, king Prabhākaravardhana fell seriously ill and messengers were dispatched to summon the princes to the capital. Harṣa being nearer to the capital could be easily contacted[1] and he forthwith returned to Thaneswar[2] to be by the bedside of his ailing father[3] Prince Rājyavardhana reached the capital some days after his father's death and also of his mother who had immolated herself to avoid the curse of widowhood.[4] Overpowered by extreme grief, he wanted to become a monk,[5] leaving the crown to Harṣa, who too expressed his wish to follow in the footsteps of his brother.[6] But on receiving the sad news of the death of his brother-in-law Grahavarman Maukhari at the hands of the 'wicked lord of Mālava',[7] the consequent imprisonment of his sister

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1. *HC*, CT, 133.
2. *Ibid.*, 135.
3. *Ibid.*, 139 f. According to to the *Harṣacarita* the dying king spoke the following words to Harṣa who was at his bed side : "Succeed to this world, ...appropriate my treasury,..... make prize of the feudatory kings;..... support the burden of royalty,.... protect the people, .. annihilate your foes" (*HC*, CT, 156). These as also some other words of the dying king, unless spoken in a general way to the son on the spot, would indicate. Prabhākaravardhana's preference for Harṣa as his successor in supersession of the claims of Rājyavardhana. (see Smith, *EHI*, 349; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 69-72; Sharma, *op. cit.*, 123-27). The fact that the ailing Prabhākaravardhana made no inquiries after Rājyavardhana has been taken to indicate the king's indifference towards him. Sharma (*op. cit.*, 125-26) is of the view that the messanger taking the news of the illness of Prabhākaravardhana was despatched to Harṣa only and not to Rājya. Devahuti, after analysing the evidence of the *Harṣacarita*, concludes that not only Prabhākaravardhana showed preference for Harṣa as his successor but even Harṣa was willing to accept kingship, by passing Rājyavardhana's claims (*op. cit.*, 71-72). For contra. see Sharma, *op. cit.*, 127-28. Smith (*EHI*, 349-50) is of the view that a party at the court favoured Harṣa as Prabhākaravardhana's successor but Rājya's return to the capital frustrated their plans. The evidence of the *Harṣacarita*, however, shows that Harṣa was deeply attached to his brother.
4. *HC*, CT, 165.
5. *Ibid.*, 170.
6. *Ibid.*, 172-73.
7. Bühler's view (*EI*, I, 70) that Mālava in *Harṣacarita* does not refer to Mālava in Central India but was another region of that name in the Punjab, is not tenable; the Gauḍa-Mālava axis fits in well geographically in the context of Central India. The 'wicked lord of Mālava' is rightly identified with Devagupta of Banskhera and Madhuban grants (Bühler, *EI*, I, 70; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 35; Tripathi, *HK*, 66). Ganguli, however, identifies him with Kalacuri ruler Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa (*IHQ*, XII, 464; *ibid.*, XXIII, 52; *JBORS*, XIX, 406). But the non-mention of the name of this Kalacuri ruler in Harṣa's epigraphs (which mention Devagupta) and the fact that Budharāja is known as ruling in 609 A.D., while Rājya routed the Mālava ruler in 606 A.D., go against this identification (See *PHAI*, 607 n. 3). The view that the Mālava ruler was Śilāditya, son and successor of Yaśodharman, and he ruled over western Mālava, while Devagupta ruled in eastern Mālava and was his ally (Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, 555, 558, 563-64; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 12n, 62) is also not convincing. Hiuen-tsang, no doubt, refers to one Śilāditya ruling in

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Rājyaśrī, and being also informed of the intention of the enemy to invade Thaneswar itself in that hour of crisis,[1] Rājyavardhana gave up the idea of turning a monk. His grief now turned into wrath against the Mālava ruler. Taking Bhaṇḍi along with him, he forthwith marched at the head of 10,000 cavalry to meet the foe, leaving Harṣa with the remainder of the army to look after the administration.[2] Rājyavardhana had little difficulty in routing the Mālava army,[3] but was himself treacherously murdered by the Gauḍa king, Śaśānka.[4]

HARṢA

The death of Rājyavardhana under such tragic circumstances roused the frenzy of Harṣa on whom the mantle of rulership fell.[5] He vowed to destroy

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Mo-la-po. But he places him sixty years before his visit. This Śilāditya has rightly been identified with Śilāditya I of Valabhī (Sinha, *DKM*, 183 ff). As Vaidya (*HMHI*, I, 138) points out, since the *Harṣacarita* refers to Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta as Mālava princes, and to the killer of Grahavarman as king of Mālava, Mālava in both cases should mean one and the same kingdom.

1. *HC*, CT, 173.
2. *HC*, CT, 175-76.
3. *HC*, CT, 178.
4. The circumstances leading to the death of Rājya have been discussed separately in an Appendix (*infra*). Śaśāṅka seems to have begun his career as a feudatory chief. There is a wide difference of opinion regarding the identification of his overlord, Mahāsenagupta (K.L. Barua, *EHK*, 59; Majumdar, *HB*, 49), Avantivarman Maukhari (Sen, *SHAIB*, 261; D.C. Ganguly, *IHQ*, XII, 457) and Jayanāga (Sinha, *DKM*, 222 ff; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 34) are some of the kings mentioned in this context. Most scholars are of the view that the Gauḍas and the Mālavas joined hands against the Puṣpabhūtis and the Maukharis (Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 4 even suggests religious affiliations playing an important role). D.C. Ganguly, however, holds that the Mālava ruler and Śaśāṅka launched compaigns in north India independently (*IHQ*, XXIII, 52-53).
5. The passage in the *Harṣacarita*—"He was embraced by the goddess of the Royal prosperity, who took him in her arms and, seizing him by all the royal marks on all his limbs, forced him, however reluctant, to mount the throne, and this though he had taken a vow of austerity and did not swerve from his vow, hard like grasping the edge of a sword" *HC*, CT, 57)—has led some scholars to conclude that Harṣa was at first a little reluctant to ascend the throne. According to Tripathi, the passage in question being couched in poetic mannerism probably alludes either to the reluctance of Harṣa to ascend the throne after Prabhākaravardhana's death notwithstanding his father's preference for him (*HK*, 69-70), or perhaps to Harṣa's refusal to accept the crown when Rājyavardhana declared his intention of renouncing the throne and turning a monk (*ibid.*, 70). The suggestion (Watters, I, 346), that Harṣa in early part of his life had taken a vow to become a Buddhist monk, is unacceptable as in his Banskhera (regnal year 22) and Madhuban (regnal year 25) plates he has been referred to as *paramamāheśvara*, i.e. a Śaiva. There is hardly any justification for Smith's view that the nobles hesitated before offering the crown to Harṣa (*EHI*), 350) or that of Panikkar that the hesitation was due to the

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the Gauḍa king within a short time, and set out with a strong army to punish him and other hostile kings. On reaching Kathaka he was met by Haṁsavega, messenger from Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, with costly presents and a proposal of alliance, which was readily accepted.[1] Harṣa continued his march against the Gauḍa king in the course of which he met Bhaṇḍi who was on his way back to Thaneswer with the spoils of war after Rājyavardhana's victory over the Mālava king.[2] The young king was informed by Bhaṇḍi that after Rājyavardhana's death Kānyakubja had been seized by a certain Gupta, and Rājyaśrī had 'burst from her confinement' with the help of a Gupta *Kulaputra*[3] and entered the Vindhyan forest. At this news Harṣa marched towards the Vindhyas with Mādhavagupta and a few tributary kings to rescue his sister, leaving the main army under the command of Bhaṇḍi.

Harṣa reached Rājyaśrī[4] and rescued her just when she, in utter despair,[5] was about to mount a funeral pile[6]. Taking her with him he hastened to

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rebellious attitude of the feudatories or perhaps because Rājyavardhana had left an heir (*SHK*, 15). However, the evidence of the *Harṣacarita* (CT, 202) shows that the feudatories and chieftains gave unstinted support to Harṣa; and there is also no evidence to indicate that Rājyavardhana was married. Had he been married Bāṇa would have given detailed account of the marriage as in the case of Rājyaśrī's marriage.

1. *HC*, CT, 211 f. Fear of the growing power of Śaśāṅka was the main reason for Bhāskaravarman seeking an alliance with the Puṣpabhūti family. The journey of this messenger from Kāmarūpa probably commenced before Harṣa ascended the throne. He might, therefore, have originally intended to negotiate an alliance with Rājyavardhana. The messenger could not have been dispatched to Prabhākaravardhana as there was a fairly long gap between the latter's death and the arrival of Haṁsavega. D. C. Sircar suggests that probably the Kāmarūpa ruler had allied himself with the Maukharis against the Gauḍas, and after the death of Grahavarman Maukhari, he thought it expedient to make friendship with Harṣa (*JRASBL* XI, 71).
2. *HC*, CT, 223 f.
3. In certain manuscripts we have *Gauḍair gṛhīte*, i.e. 'Seized by Gauḍa' (*DKM*, 250 n) which would suggest that the 'Gupta' came from Gauḍa. It has been suggested that the 'Gupta' who seized Kanauj may be identified with Śaśāṅka who has been given the name Narendragupta in a manuscript of the *Harṣacarita* (Bühler, *EI*, I, 70), while the 'Gupta *kulaputra*' who freed her was some one friendly to the Maukharis or Puṣpabhūtis or both (Basak, *HNEI*, 184), or even a person of Śaśāṅka's camp who could do so in order to divert the attention of Bhaṇḍi (Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 5).
4. Harṣa was helped in locating Rājyaśrī by Buddhist sage Divākaramitra who was a boyhood friend of Rājyaśrī's husband, Grahavarman Maukhari (*HC*, CT, 232 f).
5. As the *Harṣacarita* puts it, without 'a husband or a son' (CT. 254).
6. *HC*, CT, 258. Rājyaśrī was loath to return and wished to become a nun. It was only after forceful pursuation by Harṣa and Divākaramitra that she finally agreed to accompany her brother.

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join the army.[1] Meanwhile in view of the unfavourable circumstances, Śaṣāṅka seems to have beaten a retreat from Kanauj.[2]

The city of Kanauj was in a state of confusion and chaos with no strong hand to hold the kingdom together when Harṣa with Rājyaśrī entered the capital.

Since Rājyavardhana had been treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka[3] while fighting for the cause of the Maukharis, and Harṣa had rescued the widowed young Maukhari queen Rājyaśrī and brought her with him to Kanauj, the Maukharis naturally had sympathy and good will for Harṣa. According to Hiuen-tsang, the ministers of Kanauj headed by Poni[4] offered the throne to Harṣa who initially hesitated[5] to accept the offer but did so afterwards at the instance of the Bodhisattva.[6] Harṣa later transferred his capital

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1. The *Harṣacarita* abruptly comes to an end at this point of Harṣa's career.
2. Tripathi, *HK*, 73; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 5. This was the obvious course open to him, as his ally the Mālava ruler had been defeated and perhaps killed by Rājyavardhana. Further, the king of Kāmarūpa had entered into an alliance with Harṣa who was marching against him and was sure to receive whole-hearted support from the people and officials of Kanauj. Majumdar, however, suggests that Śaṣāṅka might have left Su-, the younger brother of Grahavarman, on the throne of Kanauj as his protege, and it was by ousting him that Harṣa occupied Kanauj after Śasāṅka had returned to his kingdom (*HCIP*, III, 102). See also Appendix.
3. See Appendix 'Was Rājyavardhana Murdered Treacherously', *infra*.
4. He has been identified with Bhaṇḍi by some scholars (Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, 560; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 17n. 1; Devahuti *op. cit.*, 79 n.). Others, however, take Poni to stand for Bani and not for Bhaṇḍi, and opine that Bhaṇḍi was connected with the administration of Thaneswar and Poni with that of Kanauj.
5. Watters, I, 343. According to Tripathi, Harṣa hesitated because he felt that the additional burden of the Kanauj kingdom could mean neglect of the affairs of the parental one; or else he was, till then, uncertain about the full support of the officials and people of Kanauj (*HK*, 76).
6. It is stated that Harṣa approached a Bodhisattva statue near the Gaṅgā which charged him to ascend the throne for the furtherance of Buddhism which had suffered at the hands of Śaśāṅka, but not to sit on the throne or assume the title of *mahārāja*. Harṣa, we are told, followed the injunctions and called himself merely *kumāra* (prince) and took the title of *Śilāditya*. (We have followed Devahuti's (*op. cit.*, 81) translation). It may be noted that Hiuen-tsang seems to have mixed up his account when he says in this context that Harṣa succeeded to the throne as a result of Rājyavardhana's death (which is true only in the context of Harṣa's succession to throne of Thaneswar). The reference to Gaṅgā in the context of Bodhisattva statue shows that Kanauj, and not Thaneswar, is meant. Besides the question of hesitation on the part of Harṣa in accepting the throne of Thaneswar does not arise (see Vaidya, *HMHI*, 1,7; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 28 n; Tripathi, *HK*, 68-70). This is further substantiated by the fact that Hiuen-tsang, when he visited Thaneswar, speaks nothing about Harṣa or his family in that context.

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from Thaneswar to Kanauj, obviously for economic, political and strategic considerations.[1]

Conquests of Harṣa

Eastern Campaign

As an empire-builder, Harṣa is credited with many conquests. Yet, neither the details nor the dates of these conquests[2] can be determined with certainty. Both, Bāṇa and Hiuen-tsang, tell us that Harṣa marched against Śaśāṅka and his other adverseries shortly after the death of his brother. While the former does not tell us about the outcome of the battle,[3] the latter says that Harṣa proceeded eastwards and invaded the states which had refused allegiance,[4] and was able to avenge the killing of his brother.[5] The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[6] clearly records that 'Harṣa marched against Puṇḍra and defeated Soma (i.e. Śaśāṅka)[7]'. Śaśāṅka, however, continued to rule at least till 619 A.D., though it is not known whether his territories were confined only to Orissa[8] or he had regained hold over Gauḍa as well.

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1. According to *Fang Chih*, Harṣa ruled conjointly with his sister (*vide* Watters, I, 345). Ray holds that Harṣa was thus king of Thaneswar and regent only of Kanauj (*IHQ*, III, 773). The position of Su-, a son of Avantivarman, is, however, uncertain in Maukhari chronology (See Appendix, below.).
2. Neither Watters' translation (I, 343) of the relevant portion of Hiuen-tsang's account to the effect that Harṣa engaged in warfare during the first 6 years and thereafter ruled peacefully for 30 years, nor that of Beal to the effect that he spent first 30 year in warfare and ruled peacefully for 6 years can stand to scrutiny (for details, see *HCIP*, III, 108-09).
3. The metaphoric descriptions of the sunset scene in the *Harṣacarita* have been taken as suggestive of the war with and discomfiture of Śaśāṅka (*HC*, CT, Appendix B, 275). Vaidya (*HMHI*, I, 11) suggests that Harṣa in the compassion of a Buddhist extended forgiveness to Śaśāṅka.
4. Watters, I, 343.
5. Beal, *Life*, 83.
6. Ganpati Sastri's ed., pt. III,. 634-35.
7. Jayaswal, *IHI*, 50. See also Sircar, *IHQ*, XIX, 280; Majumdar, *HCIP*, III. 107, and Sinha, *DKM*, 256, however, doubt the authenticity of the Buddhist text.
8. The Ganjam copper plate (*EI*, VI, 143 f) of Mādhavavarman datable to 619 A.D. refers to Śaśāṅka, his overlord, as *mahārājādhirāja*, but in his Puri plates (*EI*, XIII, 122-31) of regnal year 13, which fell after 619 A.D. (*vide* Sircar, *IHQ*, XXVII, 166-67), Mādhavavarman is referred to as one who performed horse sacrifice, and no mention is made of Śaśāṅka. The Midnapur plates (*JASB*, II, 115; the date according to one reading being 595 A.D. and according to another 629 A.D.) also do not refer to him as a *mahārājādhirāja*. It is also not known whether the Rohtasgarh seal (*CII*, III, 283-84) referring to him as *mahāsāmanta* belongs to pre-*mahārājādhirāja* phase or to the period after his defeat at the hands of Harṣa. For the latter view, see Panikkar, *SHK*, 17f; Ray, *IHQ*, III, 775.

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The non-mention of any king ruling at Karṇasuvarṇa during Hiuen-tsang's visit to that region between 636 and 639 A.D., indicates that the region had come under Harṣa. The Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman[1] issued from Karṇasuvarṇa, however, would suggest his hold over that region. As such Harṣa either himself allowed Bhāskaravarman to rule over that area[2] or the latter had come in possession of it after the death of Harṣa.

According to Ma-twan-lin, Harṣa assumed the title of king of Magadha in A.D. 641,[3] and Hiuen-tsang states that he had subjugated Oḍra (Utkala) and Koṅgoda (Ganjam division by 643 A.D.[4]

Valabhī

The Nausari grant of Jayabhaṭa II, a Gurjara king of Broach, dated 726 A.D. records that Dadda II had obtained great fame by protecting the Valabhī ruler who had been over-powered by the king Harṣadeva[5].

The Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras are known to have been hostile to Prabhākaravardhana[6] and were perhaps inimical even to Harṣa. These have been mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II[7] as his feudatories. It seems that Dadda II dared to offer shelter to the Valabhī ruler relying on the support of his Cālukya overlord[8]. Harṣa was a contemporary of five

1. *EI*, XII, 65f.
2. The *Fang Chīh* (cited by Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI* 248), has it that Harṣa jointly with Kumārarāja (Bhāskaravarman) destroyed Śaśāṅka and his army. Harṣa might have given the area to Bhāskaravarman as a reward for his help. Some e.g. Vaidya, *HMHI*, 1, 30 also hold that the Kumāra who was anointed king by Harṣa as per evidence of the *Harṣacarita*, should be identified with Bhāskaravarman.
3. While travelling through Magadha (in 637-38 A.D.) Hiuen-tsang (Beal, II, 118, 122; Watters, II, 115) speaks of the cutting of the Bodhi tree by Śaśāṅka, his death shortly thereafter, and also the revival of the tree by Pūrṇavarman, a king of Magadha, as recent events. This would show that Magadha came under Pūrṇavarman after Śaśāṅka (Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *JIH*, V, 315) and it was perhaps after the latter's death that Harṣa annexed Magadha and appointed Mādhavagupta as its governor (*ibid.*, 318). Pires, however, holds, that Pūrṇavarman was probably a Maukhari and was appointed Governor of Magadha by Harṣa with a view to appeasing the Maukharis. It was after his death that Harṣa appointed Mādhavagupta to that office (Pires, *op. cit*, 129-30). Majumdar (*HCIP*, III, 107), however, suggests that Hiuen-tsang's statement shows that Śaśāṅka held sway over Magadha when he cut the Bodhi tree. Devahuti (*op. cit.*, 42) opines that the Magadha region had come under Harṣa and the cutting of the Bodhi tree (at Bodhgayā) by Saśāṅka was done during a raid.
4. Beal, *Life*, 159, 172.
5. *JBBRAS*, VI, 1 ff; *IA*, XIII (1884), 77 (text).
6. *HC*, CT, 101.
7. *EI*, VI, 1 ff.
8. Altekar even suggests that the credit claimed for Dadda II may have really belonged to his overlord Pulakeśin II (*ABORI*, XIII, 304).

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Valabhī rulers,[1] but the one referred to in the Gurjara epigraph is generally identified with Dhruvasena II.[2] His kingdom, if it was occupied by Harṣa, must have been restored to him[3], whereafter Harṣa married his daughter to that ruler. This matrimonial alliance weaned away Dhruvasena II from Pulakeśin's influence. He became a firm ally of Harṣa[4] and attended his Prayāga Assemblies. Not unlikely, the grant of shelter to the Valabhī king by a feudatory of the Cālukya ruler was one of the causes of conflict between Pulakeśin II and Harṣa[5].

War with Pulakeśin II

Harṣa's most important conflict was against Pulakeśin II[6]. While according to Hiuen-tsang[7], Harṣa invaded the territories of Pulakeśin II but could not defeat him, the Aihole inscription[8] records that Harṣa was seized with fear

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1. Viz. Śilāditya Dharmāditya (who ruled at least upto 612 A.D.), Kharagraha (known date 616 A.D.), Dharasena III (known date 623 A.D.), Dhruvasena II (known date between 629 and 643 A.D.) and Dharasena IV (earliest and latest known dates, 646 and 650 respectively). See also Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 103-04.
2. The view that the event took place sometime between 630, when Dhruvasena came to throne, and 640, when Hiuen-tsang visited Valabhī, seems most plausible. Some scholars (e.g. Indraji, *Bomb. Gaz.* I(1), 116; K. Chattopadhyaya, *PIHC*, III, 598-99) identify the Valabhī ruler, whom Dadda II gave shelter, with Dharasena IV, whose assumption of imperial titles (*paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja parameśvara* and *cakravartī* as met with in his grant of 645-46 A.D.) has been interpreted as a direct challenge to the authority of Harṣa. King Dhruvasena II attended Harṣa's Quinquennial Assembly in 643 A.D., hence a fight with Dharasena IV could have taken place only after that date. Dadda II might or might not have ruled beyond 641 A.D., the last known date of his reign. After 642 A.D., there could be no question of Pulakeśin II lending support to the Gurjara king as he himself had been routed and his kingdom occupied by the Pallavas in that year. (See also Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 110).
3. Smith holds that Harṣa not only returned the paternal kingdom of Dhruvasena to him but also added Mālava and its dependencies to it (*EHI*, 343).
4. According to Majumdar (*HCIP*, III, 104), 'There is no basis at all for the view that Valabhī was conquered by Harṣa and that its ruler became his subordinate vassal.' Tripathi too does not take him as a vassal of Harṣa (*HK*, 111). Smith (*EHI*[4], 354), Mookerji (*Harsha* 30), Ray (*IHQ*, III, 777) and Sircar (*IHQ*, XIX, 280-81), however, consider him as Harṣa's feudatory.
5. Chattopadhyaya, however, holds that the silence of the grants of Dadda II (the Kaira grants of years 629 A.D. and 634 A.D.) about the protection given by the ruler to the Valabhī king, suggests that Harṣa's war against the Valabhī ruler took place after 634 A.D. (*EHNI*, 304).
6. Harṣa is referred to as the lord of the entire North (cf. the title *sakalottarāpatheśvara* for him in the Cālukya epigraphs) and Pulakeśin held similar position in the south (cf. his title *dakṣināpathapṛthivyāḥ svāmī*, *EI*, V, 7-8).
7. Watters, II, 239.
8. *EI*, VI, 1 ff. (Text on p. 6, trans. on p. 10)

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when his elephant corps was routed in the battle.[1] The battle was probably fought on the banks of the Narmadā and the river thenceforth formed the boundary line between the kingdoms of Harṣa and Pulakeśin II.[2]

Kashmir and Sindh

The Chinese pilgrim's account shows that Kashmir was a large state with a number of dependent principalities. But the requisition of the Sacred Tooth of the Buddha by Harṣa from the Kashmir King through a threat of force[3] would indicate that the kingdom of Kashmir came within his sphere of influence[4]. Some scholars hold that the 'inaccessible land of snowy mountains' whence Harṣa exacted tributes, mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*[5], refers to Kashmir.

There is a passage in the *Harṣacarita— atra Puruṣottamena Sindhurājaṁ pramathya laksmīrāthmīkṛtā*[6] which translated literally (in the context of Harṣa) would mean that Harṣa 'having pounded the king of Sindhu made his wealth his own'[7]. Scholars are generally inclined to take this euology of his patron

1. Some scholars hold that the battle was undecided and the Cālukya epigraphs give partisan account of it. Kielhorn maintains that the conquests of Pulakeśin II as narrated in the Aihole inscription are modelled on Raghu's *digvijaya* (*EI*, IV, 4). Sharma (*HHT*, 179-82) seriously doubts the veracity of the evidence of the Aihole *praśasti*. According to him, even the *praśasti* does not categorically state that Harṣa was defeated. He also refers to a local tradition prevalent in the region of Jabalpur, according to which the battle between Harṣa and Pulakeśin was indecisive. Most scholars (e.g. Smith, *EHI*, 353; Mookerji, *Harsha*, 33 f; Tripathi, *HK*, 107-08; Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 106), however, hold that Harṣa was defeated.
2. The Aihole *praśasti* (verse 24) refers to the presence of Pulakeśin's elephants in the vicinity of the Vindhyas and the Narmadā, while the *Harṣacarita* would show that the chief of the Vindhyan region acknowledged the overlordship of Harṣa (*HC*, CT, 233-34). Majumdar, however holds that since the Lāṭas, Mālavas and the Gurjaras are referred to as feudatories of Pulakeśin II, it is doubtful if Harṣa's empire extended upto the Narmadā, and the battle was fought much farther in the north (*HCIP*, III, 106). R.D. Banerji (as quoted by Mookerji, *Harsha*, 37 n) held that since the Aihole inscription attests to Pulakeśin's conquest of Kosala and Kaliṅga regions which were also subjected to military compaigns of Harṣa, the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war must have taken place somewhere in that area.
3. *Life*, 183.
4. See Mookerji, *op. cit.*, 40; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 17, 143, 206. For *contr.* see Tripathi, *HK*, 85-86. Some scholars (e.g. N. Ray, *IHQ*, 1927, 780) identify Harṣa of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, (II, 7) who is said to have occupied Kashmir for a short period, with the Puṣpabhūti homonym; others (e.g. Tripathi, *HK*, 86; Stein, *RT*, trans., p. 66, no. 7) do not agree with this view on chronological and other grounds.
5. *Infra*, p. 63.
6. *HC*, Text, p. 90-91.
7. Another rendering would be '*Puruṣottama* (i.e. Viṣṇu) had acquired (Goddess) Lakṣmī after churning the ocean'.

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by Bāṇa with a pinch of salt[1] in view of the fact that Hiuen-tsang's account indicates that Sindh was then a fairly strong and independent kingdom[2]. Others suggest that Harṣa exercised nominal suzerainty over that region[3].

Nepal

The statement in the *Harṣacarita—atra parameśvareṇa Tuṣāraśailabhuvo durgāyā gṛhitā karaḥ*[4]—has been interpreted to mean that Harṣa exacted taxes from a land of snowy mountains to which access was difficult[5]. 'The land of snowy mountains' has been taken by some to indicate Nepal[6]. But the identification is doubtful[7].

The *Vaṁśāvalī* refers to one Vikramāditya who came to Nepal immediately before the reign of, Aṁśuvarman and established an era[8]. Some scholars identify this Vikramāditya with Harṣa. The *Vaṁśāvalī*, however, is not a very reliable source material of history,[9] and the identification is open to doubt. The view that Nepalese king Aṁśuvarman's epigraphs[10] have been dated in Harṣa era does not seem correct[11].

Another evidence cited in support of Harṣa's conquest of Nepal is Hiuen-tsang's reference to Harṣa as belonging to *Fei-she* caste[12]—it being taken as the Bais Rajputs of Nepal. But, as stated earlier, *Fei-she* should better be

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1. Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 106. Chattopadhyaya is of the view that the passage in the *Harṣacarita* merely compares Harṣa with Viṣṇu, and his queen with Lakṣmī (*EHNI*², 302).
2. Watters, II, 252.
3. Eg. Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 11.
4. *HC*, Text, p. 91.
5. Another interpretation is that God (Śiva) married Durgā born in snowy mountains (i.e. Himālayas).
6. Bühler, *IA*, XIX, 40-41, G. Chatterji takes it to refer to Suvarṇagotra region situated to the north of Brahmapura (*Harṣavardhana*, 103). Ettinghausen holds that the reference is to the Tukhāra country (*op. cit.*, 47), while some opine that Kashmir is meant.
7. The passage under reference can also be interpreted to mean that Parameśvara (i.e. Harṣa) married some hill princess (Tripathi, *HK*, 98).
8. See also *HK*, 94.
9. See *HK*, 97.
10. Indraji, *IA*, XIII, 411 f.
11. If we take Aṁśuvarman's inscription no. 8 dated 45 in Harṣa era, then its date would be 651 A.D. But the word 'recent' used in reference to this king in the *Records* implies that Aṁśuvarman's reign had ended shortly before Hiuen-tsang's visit to Nepal in 637 A.D. The era used in the epigraphs of Aṁśuvarman should, therefore, have commenced from 590 A.D. at the latest (see Tripathi, *HK*, 92 f). Mookerji, however, suggests that Hiuen-tsang himself did not visit Nepal and based his accounts on hearsay, hence the discrepancy (*Harsha* 32n). But this view is not acceptable to other scholars.
12. The identification of *Fei-she* with Bais Rajputs was suggested by Cunningham (*AGI*, 432-33). See also Bühler, *EI*, I, 68 n. 4; Indraji, *IA*, XIII, 421.

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taken to refer to the Vaiśyas[1] rather than to the Bais Rajputs. Furthermore, it has also been held by some that during Aṁśuvarman's rule Nepal was a vassal state of the Tibetan king Srong-tsang-sgam-po[2]. It is, therefore, not likely that Harṣa held sway over Nepal.

South India

The Gaddemane inscription[3] (Shimoga district) mentions the campaigns of a military commander of Śilāditya against a Beḍa chief consequent to which Mahendra took to flight. Some scholars have identified this Śilāditya with Harṣa and Mahendra with the Pallava Mahendravarman I[4]. It is, however, difficult to believe that Harṣa could penetrate so far into the South, particularly in view of the fact that he had suffered a defeat at the hands of Pulakeśin II on the northern periphery of the Deccan. The view that Harṣa penetrated into the South through Koṅgoda after conquering it in 643 A.D. is also not convincing as Mahendravarman I Pallava had died near about 630 A.D. Śilāditya of the epigraph has been rightly identified with the Cālukya *Yuvarāja* Śrayāśraya Śilāditya and Mahendra with Mahendravarman II Pallava[5].

A verse attributed to Harṣa's court poet Mayūra refers to the conquests of Aṅga, Kuntala, Cola, Madhyadeśa and Kāncī by his royal patron[6]. The verse is couched in high flown metaphorical language referring to the earth as the wife of the king, and the words *aṅga* etc. have been used in the sense of her body, hair, cloth, chest and girdle respectively and seems to have very little relevance to historical facts[7].

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1. See *supra*, p. 52.
2. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, 312.
3. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1923*, p. 83 (Bangalore 1924).
4. *Ibid.* See also N. R. Ray in *IHQ*, III, 788-89.
5. Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 106 n. 1. Sircar, *ibid.*, 245. For a critical examination of different theories regarding the identification, see Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 101-105.
6. Ballabhadeva, *Subhāṣitaratnāvalī*, ed. by Peterson, Bombay, 1886, p. 429, v. 2515.
7. Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 106n. There is a view that the verse was written before a compaign of Harṣa, probably against Pulakeśin II, and it mentions what Harṣa intended to do rather than what he actually achieved. (Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, 47 as quoted by Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 99-100). G. Chhatterji holds that the conquests referred to in the verse apply more to Pulakeśin II than to Harṣa (*Harṣavardhana*, 82). B. N. Srivastava, is of the view that Harṣa conquered all the territories mentioned in Mayūra's verse (*HHT*, 46-50). According to him, Harṣa defeated Mahendravarman I, conquered Kāñcī, and thereafter the Cola kingdom; he, however, did not permanently annex these territories (*ibid.*).

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Extent of empire and sphere of influence

The extent of Harṣa's empire is difficult to determine precisely[1]. The kingdom he had inherited from his ancestors roughly comprised Thaneswar, portions of Southern Punjab and parts of Eastern Rajputana[2]. With the addition of the Maukhari kingdom with its capital at Kanauj to his dominions, he also became master of almost the whole of Uttar Pradesh[3] and some parts of Bihar; and portions of Bihar and Orissa were acquired by conquests[4]. The non-mention of the name of the ruling king of Karṇasuvarṇa (Gauḍa) by Hiuen-tsang in the account of his visit to that place is generally taken to suggest that by then it had come to form a part of Harṣa's empire[5]. It cannot be stated for certain that Mālava too formed part of the Puṣpabhūti kingdom after Devagupta had been defeated by Rājyavardhana[6].

The political power and sway of Harṣa extended far beyond the territories directly under his rule. Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa sought his friendship by sending an emissary with valuable presents. Some scholars believe that

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1. Panikkar holds that his empire extended from Kāmarūpa to Kashmir and from the Himālayas to the Vindhyas (*SHK*, 27). Majumdar, on the other hand, taking into account Hiuen-tsang's statement regarding different kingdoms, of India, says, "Harṣa's empire could not possibly comprise any substantial territory outside U.P., Bihar, Bengal and Orissa (*HCIP*, III, 112).
2. Some scholars hold that the Puṣpabhūti kingdom even under Prabhākaravardhana extended upto the Indus in the west and river Narmadā in the south (see e.g. Srivastava, *HHT*, 9).
3. He held religious assemblies at Prayāga. A coin-hoard containing coins of the Puṣpabhūtis was found at Bhitaura in the Fyzabad district (*JRAS*, 1906, 843 ff). The Banskhera and Madhuban plates prove that Ahicchatrā and Śrāvastī formed *bhuktis* of his empire.
4. According to Hiuen-tsang, he built a bronze temple at Nālandā (Watters, II, 171; *Life*, 159). Several seals of that ruler have been found at that site (*MASI*, 66, 68). His hold over Orissa is also attested to by the fact that he offered eighty townships in that region to the Buddhist scholar Jayasena (*Life*, 154).
5. Some scholars identify Vardhamānakoṭi of Banskhera inscription of Harṣa with modern Burdwan in Bengal which in that case must have formed part of Harṣa's empire (see Sinha, *DKM*, 270, f, where he also quotes the view of N. L. Dey that Vardhamānakoṭi should be identified with Vardhanakoti in Dinajpur district).
6. Mookerji holds that Mālava had become a part of the Puṣpabhūti kingdom (*Harṣa*, 55). According to Sircar, the expression in the *Harṣacarita* relating to the anointing of 'Kumāra' as king refers to Harṣa's appointing Kumāragupta as ruler of Mālava region (*EI*, XXXV, 128). The Vadner grant of Kalacuri Buddharāja datable to 608 A.D. and issued from Vidiśā (*EI*, XII, 30 f) shows that that region was within his rule. Hiuen-tsang mentions a Brahmin king ruling at Ujjain during his visit to that place. Vaidya is of the view that this ruler was either appointed or approved or tolerated by Harṣa (*HMHI*, 1, 36).

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he owed allegiance to Harṣa[1]. The Harṣa-Bhāskaravarman alliance proved a strong deterrent to the designs of the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka.

As discussed earlier, there is a strong possibility that the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II[2] and the Kashmir king were also within the sphere of Harṣa's influence. The king of Jālandhara, who is said to have been put by Harṣa in 'sole control of matters relating to Buddism in all India'[3] and who was charged by him to safely conduct Hiuen-tsang on his way back to China to the frontier,[4] also seems to have been a respectful ally of Harṣa. It is thus evident that Harṣa exercised control and sway over extensive territories[5] and his long and glorious reign witnessed the integration of almost the whole of north India.

Harṣa sought friendship with kingdoms even beyond the borders of India. He sent three embassies to China, which gesture the Chinese king reciprocated

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1. See Mookerji (*Harsha*, 44), Vaidya (*HMHI*, I, 10). Sircar (*IHQ*, XIX, 280) and Devahuti (*op. cit.*, 74 f). The inclusion of an umbrella, an insignia of royalty, amongst the presents from Bhāskaravarman is taken by Vaidya and Devahuti as indicative of his submission to Harṣa. This Kāmarūpa ruler also attended Harṣa's Assemblies. On one occasion he sent Hiuen-tsang, then staying with him, to Harṣa's court much against his wishes and in deference to the summons from the Puṣpabhūti emperor (Beal, *Life*, 172). We are also told that in a procession connected with Harṣa's assembly (in which Bhāskaravarman was also present) the music pace-drum was used exclusively for Harṣa. The relationship between Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman originally appears to have been that of allies on an equal footing, who faced the threat from a common enemy (Śaśāṅka); but possibly after the danger from Śaśāṅka was over "Harṣa did not feel the necessity of treating his ally with the same deference" (Sinha *DKM*, 268). Some scholars hold that the passage in the *Harṣacarita* referring to the consecration of Kumāra by Harṣa (*atra devenābhiṣiktaḥ kumāraḥ*, *HC*, 91), implies that Harṣa, as a paramount sovereign, formally consecrated Bhāskaravarman as king (Mookerji, *Harsha*, 44; Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 76). Sircar, however, identifies Kumāra with the Mālava prince Kumāragupta (*IHQ*, XIX, 278 n) and Sinha with Mādhavagupta (*DKM*, 279). The view that Kumāra refers to Harṣa's young son (*HC*, CT, 75 n. 5) is not plausible as Harṣa, in all probability, had no male issue.
2. In the Kanauj Assembly Harṣa assumed the role of Śakra and Bhāskaravarman that of Brahmā. Dhruvasena II, however, was not called upon to assume any role of importance. This would suggest that his position in Harṣa's court was inferior to that of Bhāskaravarman (see Sircar, *IHQ* XIX, 280-81).
3. Watters, I, 296.
4. *Life*, 189.
5. Hiuen-tsang calls him 'lord of five Indies'. According to Smith (*EHI*, 353) the 'five Indies' stand for Svārasvata (eastern part of Punjab), Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Mithilā (northern Bihar), Gauḍa (West Bengal), and Utkala (northern Orissa). Devahuti points out that one Chinese text has 'five Gauḍas' instead of 'five Indies', and that Gauḍa meant northern India in contradistinction to Draviḍa which indicated south India (*op. cit.*, 84). Cf. also the title 'lord of whole Uttarāpatha' for Harṣa in the Cālukya epigraphs. Some scholars, however, suggest that the term 'five Indies' was used to denote the whole of India with its five major parts—Uttarāpatha, Dakṣināpatha, Prācī, Pratīcī and Madhyadeśa (e.g. Pathak, *Uttarabhārata kā Rājanītika Itihāsa*, 42).

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by sending to Harṣa's court an equal number of embassies. The last of these reached India in 648 A.D. when Harṣa had passed away (in 647 A.D.)[1] and the rule of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty had come to an end[2].

Estimate of Harṣa

Harṣa was a distinguished man of letters, and the authorship of three plays of considerable merit, viz. *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda* has been attributed to him.[3] Sanskrit literature saw its flowering during his reign and produced the towering literary genius of Bāṇa—the author of the *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita*, and court poet of Harṣa.

Harṣa's title to greatness as one of the most illustrious rulers of ancient India is beyond question. He shines forth as a great empire builder,[4] a dedicated and capable statesman and administrator[5], possessed of great physical prowess and courage[6], a versatile man of letters, a great patron of men of learning[7] and a man of charity and piety[8], deeply interested in the profound problems of religion and philosophy.

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1. For a detailed and critical study of the embassies exchanged, see Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 207 f.

   We have also evidence of dispatch of an embassy by an Indian king to the court of Khusru II, king of Persia during this period (*JRAS*, NS, XI, 155 ff, 165-66). Since the Indian king is referred to as *Pramesh* (i.e. *Parameśvara*) by Tabari, it is generally believed that he should be identified with Pulakeśin II who had Parameśvara as a second name (see *HCIP*, III, 240), though some, taking *Parameśvara* as a title of a general nature held by kings, identify him with Harṣa. An Ajanta fresco is also supposed to represent a Persian in the court of an Indian ruler.
2. Harṣa left no male issue and after him Aruṇāśva, one of his ministers, usurped the throne. See *supra*, p. 35.
3. For detailed discussion on this point, see Tripathi, *HK*, 175 f. The two verses occurring in the Banskhera and Madhuban plates have been ascribed to Harṣa himself. (Bühler, *EI*, I, 71).
4. This is particularly remarkable as he ascended the throne under the shadow of great misfortunes in the form of the death of his mother, father, brother-in-law and brother in quick succession.
5. Hiuen-tsang says, 'He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him' (Watters, I, 344).
6. He saved Kumāra (probably the Mālava prince of that name) from the stronglehold of a rogue elephant by cutting the animal's trunk with his own sword (*HC*, text, p. 91).
7. According to Hiuen-tsang, one fourth of the income of the crown-lands was earmarked for rewarding men of learning (Watters, I, 176).
8. This is particularly examplified by the Kanauj and Prayāga Assemblies.

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APPENDIX I

The Circumstances of Rājyavardhana's Death

The circumstances of the death of Rājyavardhana have not been set out in clear detail in the *Harṣacarita*. All that it says on the subject is that Rājyavardhana "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa, and then, weaponless, confiding, and alone, was despatched in his own quarters"[1]. Harṣa's inscriptions refer to the circumstances of Rājyavardhana's death. It is stated therein that Rājyavardhana curbed Devagupta and other kings in battle and uprooted his adversaries, but lost his life in his enemy's quarters, in consequence of his adherence to his promise[2]. The *Harṣacarita* does not give the names of the Mālava and Gauḍa rulers in question. But the former is generally and, in our view, rightly identified with Devagupta of the epigraphs[3], and the latter with Śaśāṅka[4] on the evidence of Hiuen-tsang. Hiuen-tsang categorically states that Rājyavardhana was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka[5]. Setting out the motive of the crime, the Chinese traveller goes on to say that Śaśāṅka used to tell his ministers with reference to Rājyavardhana, 'if a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the (*mother*) kingdom'[6]. Hiuen-tsang adds: 'on this they [the ministers] asked the king (Rājyavardhana) to a conference and murdered him'[7]. At another place the Chinese pilgrim says that Śaśāṅka 'hating the superior military talents' of Rājyavardhana, 'made a plot and murdered him'[8]. Furthermore, the same authority quotes the following words of Harṣa's ministers: 'Owing to the fault of his [Rājyavardhana's ministers he was led to subject his person to the hand of his enemy, and the kingdom has suffered a great affliction...".[9] This would indicate that Rājyavardhana's ministers had

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1. *HC*, CT, 178. Smith at one time suggested that Śaśāṅka must have been in alliance with Rājyavardhana, otherwise he could not have been allured by 'the false civilities' on the part of the Gauḍa king (*JRAS*, 1908, 772).
2. According to some scholars, this could refer to Rājya's vow to set free his sister (Sinha, *DKM*, 248 n).
3. *Supra*.
4. In one manuscript of the *Harṣacarita* his name occurs as Narendragupta (*vide* Bülher, *EI*, I, 70), while the commentator of the *Harṣacarita* gives the name as Śaśāṅka (Bombay ed., 1892, 195).
5. Watters, I, 343.
6. Beal, *Records*, I, 210.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Beal, *Life*, 83.
9. Beal, *Records*, I, 211.

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advised him to go to Śaśāṅka's camp on the latter's invitation, and he was murdered there[1].

We have it from Śankarārya, the commentator of the *Harṣacarita*, that Śaśāṅka sent an embassy to Rājyavardhana with a message offering the hand of his daughter to him in marriage and this feigned friendship lured Rājyavardhana to visit the camp of the Gauḍa king where the treacherous murder took place while the prince was participating in a dinner[2].

Basak[3] has mustered further evidence to show that Śaśāṅka used treachery in taking Rājyavardhana's life. He argues that it was the irrepressible urge to avenge the treacherous murder of his brother that prompted Harṣa even at the tender age of sixteen to march against Śaśāṅka, the powerful Gauḍa king, immediately after his accession to the throne. It was for this reason that his ministers lent unequivocal support to the project[4]. Accusing the Gauḍa king of murdering Rājyavardhana and giving him derogatory epithets like *Gauḍādhama*, *Gauḍapāṣaṇḍa* and *Gauḍabhujaṅga*, the *Harṣacarita* alludes in this context to the killing of Droṇa by treachery[5] in the Mahābhārata war. When Harṣa was preparing for the fight against the Gauḍa king, Skandagupta, a trusted officer, advised him to dismiss the 'universal confidingness' characteristic of the people of Thaneswar[6], and reminded the king of disasters resulting from carelessness of rulers and specially of the blunders of heedless men on account of women.[7] The implication of the advice would seem to be, as Śaṅkarārya's commentary also shows, that Rājya fell a prey to the guiles of Śaśāṅka who easily tempted him by holding out the promise of giving him his daughter in marriage; and Harṣa was thus being counselled to be on his guard against such wiles.

Basak[8] further points out that in the first of the two introductory verses of chapter VI of the *Harṣacarita*, Śaśāṅka is compared to Yama who sends his secret messengers to his victims before their death. In the second verse, it is stated that the murder of a trusting man by perfidy is sure to rouse the wrath of a heroic soul and the crime recoils on the murderer, in very much the same way as a wanton elephant by uprooting the young tree rouses a lion from his

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1. Majumdar says that it is not unlikely that the ministers of Rājyavardhana, who were staunch Hindus, would have joined hands with Śaśāṅka, a staunch Śaiva, against Rājya who was a Buddhist, and got him murdered (*HB*, 63).
2. See *IHQ*, XII, 462.
3. *HNEI*, 176-83.
4. *Ibid.*, 176.
5. *HC*, CT, 179.
6. *Ibid*, 192.
7. *Ibid.*, 192 ff.
8. *HNEI*, 179-80.

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sleep and invites his own death. According to Basak, in this context, the treacherous man is Śaśāṅka, the trusting man Rājyavardhana, and the heroic soul Harṣa; and the three have been metaphorically referred to as wanton elephant, young tree and lion respectively.

Some scholars are not prepared to accept this interpretation. They argue that the accounts of Bāṇa and Hiuen-tsang on this issue cannot be taken as impartial, as these two were partisan authors, enjoying as they did the favour and patronage of Harṣa. These scholars also point out that it is well to keep in mind that Hiuen-tsang being a Buddhist was partial to Rājya who too was a Buddhist, and antagonistic to Śaśāṅka who was a Śaiva and bitterly opposed to Buddhism. It has also been indicated that the information supplied by different sources bearing on the treachery of the Gauḍa king differs in important details, and hence cannot be considered reliable and Śaśāṅka cannot be accused of treachery. R. P. Chanda opines that it is very likely that Rājyavardhana was defeated in battle, taken prisoner and later killed by Śaśāṅka while in captivity[1]. R. D. Banerji suggests that Rājya was killed in a duel in the camp of the Gauḍa king.[2] A.K. Maitra is of the view that Rājyavardhana after sending Bhaṇḍi to Thaneswar with the spoils of victory over the Mālava king, proceeded with a reduced force against Śaśāṅka, and was killed in battle at his hands[3]. Sen is of the view that Rājya was put to death while conducting peace negotiations, but doubts if Śaśāṅka was personally responsible for the murder[4].

However, the above mentioned views absolving the Gauḍa king of treachery in doing away with Rājyavardhana are mere conjectures, not based on direct evidence. The evidence from different records already referred to above goes to indicate that Rājyavardhana was murdered treacherously by Śaśāṅka. The very fact that Rājyavardhana lost his life in the enemy's camp where he had gone in good faith trusting in promises, clearly shows that there was foul play[5]. Further, if Rājyavardhana had not been on the right side morally and Śaśāṅka not guilty of perfidy, Harṣa would not have made a mention of this deplorable incident in such terms in his epigraphs[6].

Treacherous murders were not uncommon in ancient Indian politics, and Kauṭilya, the great authority on polity, considers them expedient under certain

1. *Gauḍarājamālā*, 8-10, as quoted by Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, 29 n. 76. Basak, however, points out that there is no record of a battle between Rājyavardhana and Śaśāṅka, and that the latter took care to avoid a fight with the Puṣpabhūti king after the defeat of the Mālava ruler at his hands (*HNEI*, 176).
2. *HO*, 1, 126.
3. *Gauḍalekhamālā* as quoted by Mookerji, *Harsha*, 19 n.
4. *SHAIB*, 267.
5. See Ganguly, *IHQ*, XII, 463.
6. See *ibid*.

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circumstances. In this particular situation, seeing that the Kanauj forces would rally round Rājyavardhana who had defeated the Mālava king (an ally of Śaśāṅka), Śaśāṅka felt no qualms in resorting to treachery in doing away with Rājyavardhana, and took it merely as a measure of practical politics. Ray's observation clinches the issue : "...unless and until further evidence be brought to light to speak to the contrary, Śaśāṅka shall ever stand accused of treachery"[1].

APPENDIX II

Harṣa's Religion

Harṣa was an intensely religious-minded king.[2] He is referred to as a *parama-māheśvara* (i.e. devout Śaiva) in his inscriptions and the *Harṣacarita* has a reference to his worshipping Śiva before setting out on a military expedition. Harṣa's Sonpat seal has a *nandī* device, and the seal which a village headman presented the king as recorded in the *Harṣacarita* also bore the same device.[3] The coins of Harṣa also bear Śaiva devices. That he commended king Bhāskaravarman's resolve not to bow before anyone except Śiva[4] also lends support to the view that Harṣa was a devout Śaiva.

However, cruel bereavements in the death of his father, mother, brother-in-law and brother, coming in quick succession ; his military compaigns involving much violence and bloodshed; love for his deceased brother who was a Buddhist and fondness for his sister who too seems to have been a Buddhist; the profound effect that the learning and piety of Buddhist sage Divākaramitra produced on the king; and, finally, his close association with Hiuen-tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim—all made him lean towards and perhaps ultimately embrace Buddhism.

Hiuen-tsang informs us that Harṣa acquired by force the tooth relic of the Buddha from Kashmir[5] and enshrined it at Kanauj; offered the revenue of 80 towns to the Buddhist scholar Jayasena;[6] patronised the Nalanda monastery;[7] invited the Buddhist monks every year to the capital, honoured them and provided them necessities of life according to rules;[8]

1. Ray, *CR*, XXVI (1928), 214.
2. Vaidya is of the view that the fact that Harṣa did not have a son might have been responsible in making him more conscious of the emptiness of worldly things (*HMHI*. I, 15).
3. *HC*, CT, 197.
4. *Ibid.*, 219.
5. *Life*, 183.
6. *Ibid.*, 154.
7. *Ibid.*, 112.
8. Watters, I, 344.

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erected several *stūpas* and monasteries;[1] prohibited the killing of animals and meat-eating;[2] and showed special favour to the Buddhists in preference to the followers of other sects in the famous Kanauj Assembly where highest regard was shown to the Chinese pilgrim, a champion of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[3] It has also been suggested by Pires that the title Śilāditya was bestowed upon Harṣa by the Buddhist monks.[4]

Harṣa initially seems to have leaned towards the Hiñayāna form of Buddhism, but later on mainly or solely due to the influence of Hiuen-tsang, he was drawn to the Mahāyāna sect. So great became his zeal for Mahāyānism that he went so far as to ask the head of the Nālandā monastery to send some Mahāyānist scholars to vanquish the Hīnayānists in Orissa.[5]

Harsā's deep devotion to Mahāyāna form of Buddhism stands out vividly in the narration of Hiuen-tsang. Giving details of the ceremonies at the famous Kanauj Assembly,[6] the Chinese pilgrim tells us that a 100 foot tower was erected and a life-size Buddha image was installed inside it. Threafter a golden image of Buddha was taken out in huge procession, flanked on the left by Harṣa dressed as Śakra, and on the right by Bhāskaravarman dressed as Brahmā, accompanied by several kings, noblemen and numerous other people. Reaching a specially erected tower, Harṣa anointed the image and made offerings. Then followed a grand feast after which the emperor together with kings, ministers, Buddhist monks, Brāhmaṇas and learned men of different sects sat down to discuss philosophical questions. Hiuen-tsang was nominated as 'lord of discussion'. After an exposition of Mahāyāna doctrine, the Chinese pilgrim challenged all those assembled there to refute his arguments. No one came forth to take up the challenge, but on the fifth day, according to *Life*,[7] the Hīnayānists plotted to kill Hiuen-tsang. The plot miscarried and Harṣa enraged issued a stern warning that whosoever caused any harm to the Chinese monks would be sentenced to death, and the tongue of the man who spoke against him would be chopped off. In the *Records*[8], we have a different account of the incident. It is recorded therein that the Brāhmaṇas felt resentment against Harṣa because while he had almost exhausted his treasury by lavish offerings to the Buddhists, he scarcely spoke to them. They cons-

1. Wattters, I, 344.
2. Beal, *Records*, I, 214.
3. *Life*.
4. Pires, *op. cit.*, 124. Bāṇa does not refer to Harṣa by this title; nor is the title met with in Harṣa's epigraphs.
5. *Life*, 176 ff.
6. *Records*, I, 218 ff.
7. *Life*, 179.
8. *Records*, I, 219-21.

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pired to take the life of the king, set the tower on fire, and one of their hirelings even flung himself at the emperor in an attempt to take his life. When intercepted and seized, the man confessed that he had been hired by the 'heretics' who wanted to kill the king.

If Hiuen-tsang's account regarding Kanauj Assembly is to be believed, there were apparently strong enough reasons for the Brāhmaṇas to be incensed against the king. The two kings, Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman casting themselved in the robes of Śakra and Brahmā respectively and marching in attendance flanking the Buddha image, must naturally have hurt the feelings of the Brāhmaṇas. Further, it must have been extremely galling to them to find that they could not hold free and frank discussions with the Mahāyānists in the Kanauj Assembly which had lost its catholicity of approach and had been reduced to a mere Mahāyāna affairs.

There is, however, another side to the picture. Hiuen-tsang himself records that at the Prayāge Quinquennial Assembly Harṣa worshipped Buddha, Śiva and Sun and distributed charity to the followers of all faiths.[1] Besides we have Harsa's epigraphs of the years 22 and 25 which explicitly mention that he bestowed land-grants upon the Ṛgvedī and Sāmavedī Brāhmaṇas. Further more, the plays attributed to Harṣa also throw light on his religious beliefs. In the two plays *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*, we come across the invocation to Brahmanical gods while in the play, *Nāgānanda*, the deity invoked is Buddha. These facts together with the consideration that Hiuen-tsang had blind faith in the superiority of Buddhism over other faiths and also in the miracles of the Buddha, and hence was biased in his account, has naturally led some scholars to doubt the veracity of that part of Hiuen-tsang's narrative which depicts Harṣa as intolerant towards sects other than Mahāyāna Buddhism.[2]

APPENDIX III

Date of Harṣa—Pulakeśin War

As regards the date of Harṣa-Pulakeśin war, all that can be said with certainty is that it was fought in or before 634 A.D., as the war finds mention in the Aihole inscription of that date[3]. Pulakeśin II's Hyderabad grant of 612 A.D. records that he acquired the title of *parameśvara* after defeating the

1. Watters, I, 364.
2. See Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 118. Some scholars are even of the view that Harṣa never gave up his Śaiva faith in favour of Buddhism.
3. *EI*, VI, 6ff.

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'hostile kings who applied themselves (or, a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles'[1]. The epigraphs of Pulakeśin's successors specifically record that the title was assumed after his victory over Harṣa.[2] Fleet[3] holds that since Pulakeśin is mentioned as *parameśvara* in his Hyderabad grant of A.D. 612, the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war was fought before 612 A.D. But some scholars, on the other hand, suggest that Pulakeśin II took the title of *parameśvara* after his victories over some prominent king or kings other than Harṣa;[4] however, Pulakeśin's successors deemed his victory over Harṣa an achievement of such a great import that they associated the assumption of this title with that event. It has also been pointed out that if the title *parameśvara* had been adopted by Pulakeśin after his victory over Harṣa, this fact should have found mention in the Aihole inscription. Tripathi[5] suggests that the title *parameśvara* was adopted by the Cālukya ruler after defeating several kings, but it was only after defeating Harṣa that it became his *aparanāma*, i. e. second name, as stated in the epigraphs of his successors. It is also argued that if Harṣa had been defeated before the issue of the Hyderabad grant (A.D. 612), this important event should have found mention in it.[6] It has been further pointed out that Pulakeśin would hardly have been in a position to defeat Harṣa soon after his accession in 608-09, after a bitterly fought war against his uncle, king Maṅgaleśa, and suppression of the revolt of the feudatories Govinda and Āppāyika.[7] Again if the Valabhī ruler overpowered by Harṣa and given shelter by Dadda II was Dhruvasena II and if that circumstance was the immediate cause of the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war, and if Dhruvasena II ascended the throne in 629 A.D. (the earliest known date for him), then the war could not have taken place before 629 A.D.[8] But since

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1. *IA*, VI, 74.
2. *IA*, VI, 87; VII, 301; IX, 125; XI, 68 etc.
3. *DKD*, 351, 356.
4. Devahuti (*op. cit*, 93), for example, suggests that the title might have been adopted after defeating Āppāyika and Govinda. It may, however, as well be suggested that it was done after defeating Maṅgaleśa who is credited with numerous victories.
5. See Tripathi, *HK*, 126.
6. For contra, see Chattopadhyaya, *IHC, Proc.*, III, 591. He says that till then Harṣa had not become very powerful and hence it would not have been deemed necessary to make specific mention of him.
7. See e.g. Srivastava, *HHT*, 56. As against this, it may argued that Harṣa, who launched a war against Pulakeśin might deliberately have chosen to attack the Cālukya ruler at a time when his (latter's) position was still not consolidated (Sharma, *op. cit.*, 196).
8. K. Chattopadhyaya, however, holds that there is no reliable evidence to establish a connection between Harṣa's operation against the king of Valabhī and his fight with Pulakeśin II (*IHC, Proc.*, III, 596).

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this victory of Pulakeśin II finds no mention in his Lohner grant of 630 A.D.[1] it would not be unreasonable to infer that this was war fought sometime between 630 and 634 A.D.[2]

APPENDIX IV

Harṣa Era

Harṣa is credited with the founding of an era. Epigraphs which are taken as dated according to this era[3] do not, however, mention the name of the era as Harṣa era. Alberuni, who came to India some centuries after Harṣa, records that the Harṣa era was in use in Mathura and Kanauj.[4] He states that he was told by the people that Harṣa era was founded 400 years before the Vikrama era, but then there was a Kashmirian calender which placed the start of the Harṣa era 664 years after the Vikrama era (i.e. in 606 A.D.). The latter statement, as shown below fits in well with the literary and epigraphic evidence which clearly indicates that Harṣa ruled in the first half of the seventh century A.D.[5]

Hiuen-tsang states that Harṣa waged wars for the first six years of his reign and reigned in peace for the next thirty years.[6] Chinese annals generally place the death of Harṣa in 648 A.D.[7] Counting of 36 years backwards from the date of his death gives us 612 A.D. as date of Harṣa's accession to the throne. This finds support from the *Life*[8] wherein Harṣa is said to have told the Chinese pilgrim, in 642 A.D., that he had been 'lord of India' for thirty years (i.e. since 642-30=612 A.D.) and that he was about to hold the sixth Quinque-

1. K. Chattopadhyaya (*IHC, Proc.*, III, 601-02), however, holds that since the Lohner grant does not mention any defeated king by name, the non-mention of Harṣa's name would prove nothing.
2. If the Aihole inscription is taken to mention Pulakeśin's conquests in a chronological sequence, then the war with Harṣa would have taken place in the last phase of his conquests.
3. The earliest dates ascribable so the Harṣa era are the years 22 and 25 met with in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa, respectively. Among other epigraphs dated probably in the Harṣa's era, mention may be made of the Shahpur Image Inscription of Ādityasena of year 66.
4. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, 5.
5. Harṣa was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II (A.D. 610-42), Dhruvasena II (earliest and latest known dates 629 and 643 A.D. respectively) and Hiuen-tsang (stay in India between 629 A.D. and 645 A.D.).
6. Watters, I, 343. However, see *supra*.
7. The *Life of Hiuen-tsang*, however, places the death of Harṣa in 655 A.D. (*vide* watters, I, 346). But this is not acceptable to scholars.
8. Beal, *Life*, 183-64.

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nnial Assembly at Prayāga. This indicates that the first such Assembly had been held 30 years before 642 A.D. i.e. in 612 A.D. Both these statements of the Chinese pilgrim lead us to the year 612 as the date of Harṣa's accession to the throne. But Alberuni's statement would place the start of Harṣa era in 606 A.D. The discrepancy of a difference of six years may be reconciled thus : Harṣa ascended the throne of Thaneswar in 606 A.D. But the Harṣa era was founded in 612 A.D. when he formally declared himself sovereign of Thaneswar-Kanauj kingdom. The era, however, was reckoned from 606 A.D., the date of his accession to the throne of Thaneswar.[1]

There is, however, a very strong argument according to which even Hiuen-tsang's evidence would place the accession of Harṣa in 606 A.D. It has been pointed out that Hiuen-tsang did not know the date of Harṣa's death when be submitted his *Records* to the Chinese emperor in 648 A.D. Hence for the purpose of determining the date of Harṣa's accession 36 years (6 years of wars and 30 years of peaceful reign referred to in the account of the Chinese pilgrim) should be counted backward not from the year 648 A.D. (the year of Harṣa's death) but from 642 A.D. when Hiuen-tsang last stayed with the king and had the talk with him, referred to above. The year 606 A.D. arrived at by counting backwards 36 years from 642 A.D. fits in well with the account of Alberuni which places the start of the Harṣa era in that year[2].

D. YAŚOVARMAN OF KANAUJ

Sources

The *Gauḍavaho*[3] of Vākpati, despite many poetic exaggerations, discrepancies in the narrative and induction of mythological lore, remains the main source material for the history of the reign of Yaśovarman. The

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1. See Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, II. The story of Bodhisattva's advice referred to by Hiuen-tsang (Watters, I 343) to govern the Maukhari kingdom without assuming imperial titles has also been taken by some scholars to suggest that Harṣa did not declare himself king of Kanauj immediately after he was offered the throne of Kanauj and did so after a few years.
2. Majumdar holds that there is no definite proof that Harṣa's accession took place in 606 A.D. (*IHQ*, XXVII, 183; XXVIII, 280 f). Sircar, however, forcefully advocates that date for the accession of Harṣa (*IHQ*, XXVII, 321-27; *IE*, 291 f).
3. S.P. Pandit is of the view that the extant *Gauḍavaho* is only a prelude to a larger work; either Vākpati could not complete it or his finished work has not come to light (*Gauḍavaho*. intro., p.c). For the view that the extant one is complete see Utkıgar. *ibid.*. ccxl-ccxliii). For further reference regarding both views, see Misra, *YK*, 24-26.

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sole extant epigraph bearing on his reign is the Nālandā stone inscription.[1] Among the other indigeneous sources that throw light on the history of his reign may be mentioned the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, Jain works like the *Bappabhaṭṭicarita* of Māṇikya Sūri (c. 13th or 14th century A.D.), and the *Prabandhkośa* of Rājaśekhara (written in 1349 A.D.).

A few coins bearing the name Yaśovarman[2] have been attributed to this Kanauj ruler by some scholars. But the attribution is doubtful.[3] There are some references to this ruler in the Memoirs of the Corean Buddhist itinerant Hui-chao, written in 727 A.D. and in some Chinese annals pertaining to the Tang dynasty.

Dynastic Origin

It has been a moot point amongst scholars whether Yaśovarman was a mere upstart or a scion of some illustrious dynasty. Smith[4] and Tripathi[5] held

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1. The view that the Nālandā stone inscription belongs to Yaśodharman of Mālava (Sastri, *EI*, XX, 35, 40-41; Mrithyanjayan, *IHQ*, VIII, 228-30; *ibid.*, 615-17) is ruled out on the ground of difference in names (Yaśovarman and Yaśodharman), and palaeography (the dated epigraph of Yaśodharman is of 533 A.D., while palaeographically the Nālandā epigraph is datable to c. 8th century A.D.). The allusion in the Nalanda epigraph to the temple built by Bālāditya (i.e. Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya) does not mean that Yaśovarman was his contemporary as held by Sastri (*EI*, XX, 40) and Mrithyunjayan (*IHQ*, VIII, 615). Nālandā formed part of Yaśovarman's territories, but we do not know if it also formed part of the kingdom of Yaśodharman. For refutation of the identification of Yaśovarman with Yaśodharman, see also Majumdar, *IHQ*, VII, 664 f; *ibid.*, VIII, 371 f; Tripathi, *HK*, 205-06.
2. *JRAS*, 1903, 549; Smith, *CCIM*, I, 265, 268; Cunningham, *CMI*, pl. III, no. 11; *ASR*, 159, *JASB*, *Proc.*, 1888, 180.
3. The coins are of the Indo-Scythian type and have been placed between the issues of Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II (c. 700 A.D.) and Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya (accession in 772 A.D.) on typological grounds. Since no king of the name of Yaśovarman is known in the history of Kashmir during the period, the coins have been ascribed by some scholars to Yaśovarman of Kanauj (e.g. Pires, *op. cit.*, 158-59). However, the find of these coins in Kashmir and Punjab rather than in Kanauj and their type and fabric betraying Kashmir or Punjabi style rather than Central Indian one weigh against this view (Smith. *JRAS*, 1908, 783-84; Cunningham, *CMI*, 44; Tripathi, *HK*, 207-08).

   Earlier, Hoernle ascribed these to Yaśodharman of Mālava (*JRAS*, 1903, 549-52). This view, of course, is not acceptable. Pires suggests that since Vākpati refers to Yaśovarman's conquests from the Himālayas to South India, probably in the early years of his reign Lalitāditya acknowledged Yaśovarman's suzerainty and issued coins in his name (*op. cit.*, 158-59). He says that Kalhaṇa, being partisan does not refer to this fact, and since the victory was achieved after the composition of the extant *Gauḍavaho*, it does not find mention in that work (*ibid.*, 159). See also Smith, *JRAS*, 1908, 784.
4. *JRAS*, 1908, 786.
5. *HK*, 194.

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that the evidence at hand is insufficient to take him as a scion of some ruling dynasty. In the *Gauḍavaho*, however, he is referred to as belonging to the lunar family of kings. This, together with the *varman* name-ending of the ruler and his near-contemporaneity with the later Maukhari rulers as also the fact that Kanauj was his capital, has led some scholars to hold that he was a king of the Maukhari dynasty.[1] But neither is the *varman* name-ending exclusive to the Maukharis[2] nor can the lunar lineage of the Maukharis be taken as an established fact[3].

The *Bappabhaṭṭicarita* describes Yaśovarman as belongnig to the "dynasty of Candragupta, by whom was made illustrious the already illustrious family of the Mauryas".[4] The *Prabhāvakacarita*[5] also connects him with the family of Candragupta. A Mathura epigrah[6] datable to seventh or eight century A.D. testifies to the rule of the later Maurya kings—Kṛṣṇarāja, Candragupta[7], his son Āryarāja and the latters's son(?) Diṇḍirāja *alias* Karka-over Mathura region, and also the burning of the city of Kanauj by the last mentioned ruler. Not unlikely, Yaśovarman belonged to this Later Maurya family which had hold over Kanauj[8] before his rule. His early life and the circumstances under which he came to the throne are shrouded in obscurity.[9]

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1. Cunningham, *ASR*, XV, 164; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 335; Pires, *Maukharis*, 136-37; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *JIH*, V, 328; Ray, *CR*, 1928, 216.
2. E.g. the dynasty to which Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa belonged.
3. Pires, *Maukharis*, 11-12; Tripathi, *HK*, 29-30.
4. *Vide JBBRAS* (NS) 111, 103.
5. *PC*, XI, vv 46-47. Tripathi (*HK*, 194) doubts the validity of the above-cited Jain works on two grounds, viz., that the Imperial Maurya rulers did not have *varman*-ending names, and that the evidence of these works remains uncorroborated. As to the first point, it would be too much to decide the dynasty of a king merely on the similarity or difference of the name-ending. It may also be noted that a Maurya king named Devavarman is met with in the Purāṇic lists (see Pargiter, *DKA*, 29). Hiuen-tsang (Beal, *Records*, II, 118) mentions king Pūrṇavarman 'of the race of Aśokarāja' (i.e. Aśoka Maurya) ruling in Magadha shortly before his visit there, and a Late Maurya ruler named Anirjitavarman is known to have ruled in the 6th or seventh century A.D. (*EI*, XXXIII, 293 ff).
6. *EI*, XXXII, 207 ff.
7. The relationship between Kṛṣṇarāja and Candragupta is not known.
8. It is interesting to note that this later Mauryan dynasty like the old Imperial one had a king named Candragupta. Sircar, however, suggests that probably the king defeated by Diṇḍirāja *alias* Karka was an ancestor of Yaśovarman *EI*, XXXII, 211).
9. The view of Jayaswal (*IHI*, p. 68-70) that Yaśovarman was a feudatory of Devagupta and came to the throne after killing him is based on his conjectural interpretation of the text of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and cannot be accepted on chronological and other grounds. Devagupta was succeded by his son Viṣṇugupta who in turn was succeeded by Jīvitagupta II.

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Reign Period

Scholars differ over the dates of Yaśovarman's reign period. This much, however, is known for certain that he was a contemporary of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir. Calculations made on the basis of the evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* would show that Lalitāditya ascended the throne in 695 A.D.,[1] and since he ruled for thirty six years seven months and eleven days according to the same work,[2] the end of his reign was placed by scholars in 732 A.D. But most scholars[3] now consider the evidence of Chinese sources on this issue to be more reliable than that of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[4] According to this evidence, Candrāpīḍa, the second predecessor of Muktāpīḍa, was ruling in Kashmir as late as 720 A.D. Lalitādītya Muktāpīḍa should, therefore, be placed in some later period.[5]

The king of Central India who is said to have led several victorious expeditions during Hui-chao's visit in c. 723-24 A.D. is generally identified with Yaśovarman.[6] As such, he would have ascended the throne earlier than that date.[7] The Chinese sources mention king I-cha-fon-mo (i.e. Yaśovarman)[8] as sending his minister to the Chinese court in 731 A.D.[9] and refer to him as Lalitāditya's ally in the context of the Kashmir king's embassy to China in 736 A.D.[10]

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1. S.P. Pandit, *Gauḍavaho*, intro. xcv-xcvi.
2. *RT*. IV, 366.
3. Stein, *Raj*, Trans. 124, n. 45.
4. Kalhaṇa's chronology of the Kārkoṭa dynasty has been amended by adding 25. 30, 31 or 38 years by different scholars (For references, see Misra, *YK*, 65).
5. Smith, *JRAS*, 1908, 776; Jan Yun-hua, *JIH*, XLV, 174. The latter points out that the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* assigns 8 years 8 months for the reign of Candrāpīḍa and 4 years 24 days for that of Tārāpīḍa. Chinese sources also assign 12 years, seven months and some days for the total reign period of these two rulers (*ibid.*, 176). Yun-hua believes that the missions that came from Kashmir to China in 720 and 733 A.D. were meant for obtaining Chinese recognition of the newly enthroned kings of Kashmir. According to him Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa respectively (*ibid.*) ascended the throne in 720 and 732 A.D. respectively (*ibid.*). Though this is not impossible, Yaśovarman might as well have come to throne a few years earlier.
6. *vide*, *JIH*, XLV, 165.
7. Cunningham, *ASR*, III, 135.
8. For identification, see Stein (ed.) *RT*, Intro., 89.
9. The name of the minister is Pu-ta-sin (Buddhasena) or Seng-po-ta (Saṅghabhadra). See Hua, *JIH*. XLV, 167.
10. We may also note that in the *Gauḍavaho*, an eclipse is stated to have adversely affected Yaśovarman's position as king (*Gv*, vv. 827-31). Calculations based on the clues provided by the text (see Tripathi, *HK*, 205 n) show that the eclipse took place in 733 A.D.

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Since Jain sources[1] refer to Āmarāja, son and successor of Yaśovarman as prince in 807 V.S. (=750 A.D.) and as king in 811 V.S. (=754 A.D.), the end of Yaśovarman's rule may therefore be placed between 750 and 754 A.D. Taking into consideration all these pieces of evidence, Yaśovarman's reign should be placed between c. 720 and c. 752 A.D.[2]

Conquests

According to Vākpati[3], Yaśovarman set out on his expedition of conquests from Kanauj. Moving in south-easterly direction, he reached the banks of the Son. Then he proceeded towards the Vindhyas and worshipped at the shrine of Vindhyavāsinī Devī.[4] The ruler of Magadha, fearing the approach of Yaśovarman, took fright and fled; but later, at the instance of his allies summoned up courage to join battle in which he was defeated and killed.[5]

From Magadha Yaśovarman led his victorious army into Vaṅga (south eastern Bengal[6]) defeating its king and forcing the people to offer submission.[7] He then took a south-westerly course across the Malaya mountains (Travancore hills) and there a southern king accepted his suzerainty.[8] Thence he proceeded to the sea-shore. In the course of his march he defeated the Pārasikas.[9] Thereafter Yaśovarman turned north and exacted taxes from the mountainous regions.[10] Then he came to the Narmada[11] from where he

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1. For reference to the Jain works, see, Misra, *YK*, 66 n. 6.
2. Though this seems to be most plausible, yet reference may also be made to some other views. Pandit (*Gv*, intro. xcv-xcvi) places him between 'the latter part of the seventh century and the first part of the eight century'; Majumdar (*HCIP*, III, 129), 700-740 A.D.; Tripathi (*HK*, 197), 725-52 A.D.; Pires (*op. cit.*, 157), c. 729-53.
3. See *Gv*, vv. 192-694 and 1194 (the last verse refers to the killing of the king of Gauḍa).
4. *Gv*, vv. 285 ff. The shrine is at Vindhyachal in the Mirzapur district.
5. *ibid.*, vv. 414-17.
6. Vaidya, however, is of the view that Vaṅga, during the period, meant only eastern Bengal (*HMHI*, I, 330).
7. *Gv.*, vv, 419-20.
8. *Gv.*, v. 423.
9. *Gv.*, vv 431-39. The fact that in the *Gauḍavaho*, Pārasikas mentioned in the context of South Indian conquest of the Kanauj ruler and also that an epigraph of Cālukya Vinayāditya mentions them along with the Kāmeras or Kāveras (*IA*, IX, 129) would suggest that they should be located in South India. Bhandarkar (*ABORI*, VIII, 138-39), however, locates them around Sanjan, while Pires (*op. cit.*, 139n) holds that they were Parsis settled in Gujarat. There is a view that the Pārasikas may refer to the Arabs in Sindh against whom Yaśovarman fought (Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 130).
10. *Gv*, v. 459.
11. *Gv*, v. 465.

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proceeded westward to the sea-coast.[1] Then crossing the *Marudeśa*[2] (Rajputana desert) he arrived at Śrīkaṇṭha (Thaneswar)[3], where he visited spots connected with incidents of the *Mahābhārata* war.[4] He is further stated to have marched to Hariścandranagara (i.e. the city of Ayodhyā)[5]. He received the submission of the people living in the Mandāra mountains[6], and also made some conquests in regions farther north.[7] Thence he at last returned to his capital, Kanauj.[8] Some scholars[9] consider the evidence of the *Gauḍavaho* regarding Yaśovarman's conquest as credible. Others[10] however, are of the view that the description of the conquests ascribed to Yaśovarman in the *Gauḍavaho* is in the nature of a panegyric, based on imagination and modelled on the *digvijaya* of the mythical Raghu.

The account of north Indian conquests of Yaśovarman is relatively more specific. The mention of his victory over the king of Magadha, the find of an epigraph at Nālandā eulogising him, and the existence of the town Yaśovarmapura in Magadha[11], may be taken as proof positive of his rule over that region.

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1. *Gv*, v. 470.
2. Phadke surmises (*KURJ*, 1, 12) that Nāgabhaṭa I Pratīhāra was a vassal of Yaśovarman and helped his overlord in his compaigns.
3. *Gv*, v. 484.
4. *Gv*, vv. 486-91.
5. *Gv*, 507. Smith holds that the city under reference should be located farther north from the present-day Ayodhyā (*JRAS*, 1908, 779).
6. *Gv*, v. 510.
7. *Gv*, vv. 511-12.
8. *Gv*, v. 695.
9. Eg. Smith, *JRAS*, 1908, 779. He remarks that a powerful king with his capital at Kanauj could "have carried his arms eastwards across Bengal, southwards to the Narmadā, and northwards to the foot of the mountains."
10. See eg. Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 342-43; Tripathi, *HK*, 200; Ray, *CR*, XXVI (1928), 216. Majumdar opines that possibly Yaśovarman conquered Magadha, carried his arms as far as Bengal, and might have come into conflict with the Cālukya ruler of the time (*HCIP*, III, 129).
11. The reference to this city is met within a Pāla epigraph at Ghosrawa (*IA*, 307 f). The town has been identified with the town of Bihar by Cunningham (*ASR*, III, 120) and with Ghosrawa by Kielhorn (*IA*, XVII, 1888, 309). It has been suggested that it was in all probability founded either as a mark of his victory over the king of Magadha or to mark the site of the battlefield (Tripathi, *HK*, 201; Pires, *op. cit.*, 143). According to Hua, Hui-chao's testimony would show that in 723-24 A D. Sarnath (where he located one of the important *stūpas* of Magadha) was within the kingdom of Magadha i.e. till then outside the territories of Yaśovarman (*JIH*, XLV, 166-167). Sinha places the conquest of Magadha in 625 A.D. (*DKM*, 319). The Deo Baranark inscription refers to 'Gomatikoṭṭaka', obviously a fort situated somewhere on the river Gomati, as a camp-site of the Later Gupta ruler Jīvitagupta II. Not unlikely, this camping was in connection with his fight with Yaśovarman.

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The defeated Magadha ruler was most probably Jīvitagupta II.[1]

The title *Gauḍavaho* meaning 'killing of (the king of) Gauḍa' itself indicates that Yaśovarman conquered Gauḍa. Some scholars hold that the Gauḍa region formed part of Magadha and hence by his victory over the Magadha ruler, Yaśovarman became master of Gauḍa as well.[2] This according to them would explain why the Gauḍa region has not been mentioned separately in the context of Yaśovarman's victories. Others, however, take the Gauḍa ruler as being different from the Magadhan one,[3] particularly because the Jain works also give the name (Dharma) of the defeated Gauḍa ruler.[4] As for the Vaṅga king defeated by Yaśovarman, he was either a ruler of the Khaḍga or Candra dynasty.[5]

Vākpatiś account of Yaśovarman's activities at Kurukṣetra[6] would show that the region was within his territory. Neither the territories of the Himalayan region[7] nor that of *Marudeśa* through which Yaśovarman is said to have passed, can be precisely located. Hui-chao's testimony would, however, indicate that Kapilavastu was within his kingdom.[8]

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1. See Tripathi, *HK*, 198; Basak, *HNEI*, 155; Sinha, *DKM*, 314-15; Pires, *op. cit.*, 158. The last mentioned scholar does not rule out the possibility of Jīvitagupta's successor being the ruler in question. This, however, is not convincing. Aiyangar has shown that, chronologically, Jīvitagupta II was a contemporary of Yaśovarman (*JIH*, V, 325). Other identifications suggested include Devagupta (Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 328-29; Jayaswal, *IHI*, 68-69), Viṣṇugupta (Basak, *HNEI*, 260), the Śaila prince Śrīvardhana (Ray, *DHNI*, 1, 277). Devagupta and Viṣṇugupta in all probability ruled earlier than Yaśovarman, and Śaila Śrīvardhana (whose date cannot be fixed with certainty) has been referred to as lord of the Vindhyas and not of Magadha. The view of Krishnaswami Aiyangar that he was Harṣa of Assam (*JIH*, V, 327) has hardly anything to commend itself.
2. This is suggested by Harapāla, the Commentator of *Gauḍavaho* (Pandit's ed., p. 235) and is accepted by several modern scholars (See Smith, *JRAS*, 1908, 778; Basak, *HNEI*, 154-55; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 328; Ray, *DHNI*, I, 276-77; Tripathi, *HK*, 198; Sinha, *DKM*, 316). Majumdar is of the view that if the same ruler ruled over Magadha and Gauḍa, the title *Gauḍavaho* would show that it was the ruler of Gauḍa who had Magadha under his sway, rather than *vice versa* (*HB*, I, 75).
3. Aiyangar, for example, states that, 'there is no warrant for equating the *Magadhādhipa* with *Gauḍādhipa*' (*JIH*, V, 329). Raychaudhuri also considers the Gauḍas and the Magadhas as two distinct people and holds it was the Gauḍa king who killed Jīvitagupta II (*PHAI*, 611).
4. Eg. *PC*, XI, vv. 463-64; *JBBRAS*, NS, III, 321; Aiyangar's view that Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa was the Gauḍa ruler (*AISHIC*, I, 323) is not convincing.
5. Majumdar, *HB*, I, 81; Ray, *DHNI*, I, 277; Basak, *HNEI*, 260.
6. *Gv*, v. 508.
7. Dey suggests that it was Garhwal region (*G.D.*, 191).
8. *Vide*, *JIH*, XLV, 166.

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Extensive conquests in south India by an ambitious and powerful north Indian ruler of the time are within the bounds of possibility. But since the *Gauḍavaho* neither clearly specifies the kingdoms conquered nor the names of the kings with whom he had encounters, doubts naturally arise regarding the authenticity of the testimony of the work in this regard.[1]

Extent of empire

At its zenith Yaśovarman's empire, with its capital at Kanauj, seems to have extended upto the borders of Rajputana in the west, if not farther; in the north-west it included areas around Thaneswar,[2] and in the east Vaṅga. Possibly some portions of central India were also within his territories. Conquests of other regions mentioned in the *Gauḍavaho* were perhaps nothing beyond successful raids.

War with Lalitāditya

Yaśovarman's escutcheon of valour was blemished by his defeat at the hands of the Kashmir ruler Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who being jealous of the achievements of Yaśovarman, invaded his kingdom. We learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that after a prolonged struggle Yaśovarman offered submission to Lalitāditya and agreed to sign a treaty. But owing to the obduracy of the two rulers over precedence in the mention of their names in the draft, hostilities

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1. Some scholars (e.g. Majumdar, *HCIP*, III, 130; Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 336-37) identify Yaśovarman with the king of 'entire north' defeated by Cālukya Vinayāditya (*EI*, IX, 205, trans.). Since the epigraphic evidence also records that the Cālukya prince was taken prisoner in the war, certain scholars are inclined to believe that Yaśovarman also won a battle against the Cālukyas in the South (Buddha Prakash, *AIHC*, 105). But it should be noted that the battle in question was fought in north India and not in the south. Further, the date of the battle must be placed somewhere between 694 and 696 A.D. (for details see *DKM*, 305), by which time Yāśovarman had not yet ascended the throne. Sinha suggests that the north Indian king in question should better be identified with the Later Gupta king, Devagupta (*ibid.*).

2. The northern part would have been governed by Yaśovarman's *udīcīpati* (lord of north) referred to in the Nālandā stone inscription. That Yaśovarman's territories did not extend beyond eastern Punjab is indicated by the testimony of Kalhaṇa who places Jālandhara within Lalitāditya's territory (*RT*, IV, 177). Yaśovarman too we are told, had an eye on it (*vide* Hui-chao's testimony as referred to by Jan Yun-Hua in *JIH* XLV, 169). Even if the identification of Yaśovarman of the coin found within Manikiala *stūpa* (Rawalpindi district) with the homonym Kanauj ruler be accepted, the find itself would not prove his rule over that region. For contra., see Pires, *op. cit.*, 145. He holds that Yaśovarman's empire extended much farther and that even Lalitāditya was once his subordinate.

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broke out afresh.[1] Yaśovarman was worsted in the fight and his kingdom annexed, if we are to believe Kalhaṇa.[2] Lalitāditya is credited in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* with a victorious march not only across the whole of north India but also portions in south India.[3] Perhaps on Lalitāditya's return to Kashmir after his conquests and his preoccupations, with manifold problems of his kingdom, Yaśovarman, who seems to have been allowed to rule over Kanauj as a vassal, became a *de facto* independent ruler[4].

The date of Lalitāditya-Yaśovarman war cannot be precisely determined.[5] However, from the fact that Yaśovarman has been referred to as an ally of

1. *RT*, IV, vv. 137-40. In the draft treaty, it is said, the name of Yaśovarman preceded Lalitāditya's which was objected to by Mitraśarman, the minister of the latter, and the objection was held valid by the Kashmir ruler. However, it is not unlikely that the first trial of strength between the two was indecisive. Possibly while the negotiations for a treaty were going on, Lalitāditya, finding an excuse in the differences over the wording of the draft treaty, attacked the complacent Yaśovarman and defeated him. Hui-chao's reference to central Indian king's (Yaśovarman's) successful wars (*JIH*, XLV, 165) and his possessing an elephant force greater than that of Lalitāditya (*ibid.*, 169), Kalhaṇa's reference to Yaśovarman as 'mountain' (*Yaśovarmādri*, *RT*, IV, 134), and his being extolled as subjugator of kings in the Nālandā stone inscription, indicates that the Kanauj ruler was quite powerful.
2. *RT*, IV, v. 145. One verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (*RT*, IV, v. 140) would indicate that Yaśovarman was killed in battle (the expression used is *samūlamudpāṭayat*). But another verse (*RT*, IV, v. 144) tells us that Yaśovarman along with his court poet became a panegyrist of Lalitāditya. Jain works, it may be noted, speak of Yaśovarman's natural death (see *JBBRAS* (NS), III, 104; *Prabandhakośa*, 27; *Prabhāvakacarita*, XI, vv. 28-29).
3. Taking into consideration some striking similarities in the route of march, and the areas of conquest, between the Southern campaigns of Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman; as detailed in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Gauḍavaho* respectively, some scholars hold that both the works refer to one and the same campaign in which Yaśovarman took part as a vassal of Lalitāditya (H. Goetz, *JBBRAS* (NS), XXVII (1), 1951, 50-51). Relying mainly on the account of the extensive conquests credited to Yaśovarman in the *Gauḍavaho*, Smith (*JRAS*, 1908, 784) and Pires (*op. cit.*, 145) suggest that it is quite possible that Lalitāditya was once a subordinate ally of Yaśovarman and was constrained to strike coins in his name in Kashmir style. Pires holds that Lalitāditya had earlier been a vassal of Yaśovarman but later rebelled and defeated his master.
4. See H. Goetz, *JBBRAS*, (NS) XXVII, 51. However, Sircar on the basis of *RT*, IV. 141, (which speaks of Lalitāditya's deposing of Yaśovarman and rewarding of his minister Mitraśarman with five great titles) suggests that the Kashmir ruler appointed the minister as viceroy of Kanauj (*GAMI*, 234).
5. From references in the *Gauḍavaho* to certain portentous happenings, like momentary shaking of his (kingly) position (*Gv*, v. 832) during a solar eclipse (*ibid.*, v. 829) which according to Jacobi (*Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1888, II, 67-68, as quoted by Tripathi, *HK*, 205) took place on the 14th August, 733, it has been inferred by some that Yaśovarman's defeat at the hands of Lalitāditya took place in the same year (*vide*, Tripathi, *HK*, 204-05). It is not known whether the embassy that Yaśovarman sent to China in 731 A.D. had anything to do with his war against the Kashmir ruler. As seen above, Jan

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the Kashmir king[1] in the context of that king's sending an embassy to China in 736 A.D.[2], it may be inferred that the war took place after that date.

Religious leanings

Yaśovarman's pilgrimage to the shrine of Vindhyavāsinī[3] would indicate his Śākta leanings, while his authorship of the play *Rāmābhyudaya* would suggest Vaisṇava persuasion[4]. From the *Prabandhakośa*, on the other hand, we learn that Yaśovarman died as a dovout Jain[5]. The cumulative evidence goes to show that Yaśovarman was a latitudinarian.[6]

Author and patron of letters

Yaśovarman is said to have been the author of a play named *Rāmābhyu-*

Yun-hua places the accession of Lalitāditya in 732 A.D., in which case the question of Yaśovarman's seeking help against Lalitāditya in 731 A.D. would not arise. Some scholars, however, place Lalitāditya a little earlier and believe that the Kanauj ruler sought help from the Chinese king against that Kashmir ruler (see e.g., P.C. Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies* I, 71 *vide HCIP*, III, 130 n. 4.).

1. See Stein (ed.), *RT*, I, intro., 89.
2. Majumdar (*HCIP*, III, 130) is of the view that both Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman sought Chinese help against the Arabs and the Tibetans who were making inroads into India. Pandit, in view of there being no reference to the Arab invasion in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (which gives a detailed account of Lalitāditya's reign) and also in view of Lalitāditya's being a very powerful ruler, rules out the possibility of his asking Chinese help against the Arabs (*Gauḍavaho*, lxxxiii-lxxxiv).
3. *Gv*, verse 285 f.
4. See *supra*. In the *Gauḍavaho* he is compared to Viṣṇu (*Gv*, verses 1039 and 1045). This could, however, be to indicate certain functional resemblances rather than to show his religious leanings.
5. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 28.
6. His court poet Bhavabhūti's plays, according to their internal evidence, were enacted at *Yātrā* festivals held in honour of Kālapriyanātha. Kālapriyanātha has been identified either with Śiva (*IHQ*. XI, 289; Tripathi, *HK*, 209) or with Sun (Altekar, *RTT*, 102; Sircar, *SGMAI*, 241-44; Misra, *Purāṇa*, XV, 171-72). But this would hardly have any bearing on Yaśovarman's religious leanings (For contra, see J. Hertel, *Asia Major*, I, 12-13). According to Harapāla, the commentator of the *Gauḍavaho* (on v. 192), his coronation ceremony was performed amidst the chanting of Vedic *mantras* and sacrifices. But this was a common practice with followers of different Brahmanical sects. Some scholars identifying Yaśovarman of a single coin (found along with the coins of Huviṣka in the Manikiala *stūpa* with Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*ASR*, II, 159-60), hold that he renovated the said *stūpa*. This conjecture, if accepted, would indicate that he patronised Buddhism as well. We would certainly have an important clue regarding Yaśovarman's religious faith if the *Gauḍavaho* had mentioned the name of the deity for whom Yaśovarman erected a shrine at Ayodhyā (*Gv*. v. 508).

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daya.[1] He was also patron of the renowned poet Bhavabhūti[2], author of the celebrated plays *Mālatimādhava*, *Uttararāmacarita* and *Mahāvīracarita*, and Vākpati, the author of the *Gauḍavaho*.

Successors

Our only source of information regarding Yaśovarman's successors are Jain works. These tell us that he was succeeded by his son Āma[3] who in turn was succeeded by his son Dunduka[4], who was murdered by his own son Bhoja.[5] This information, gleaned from Jain sources, is neither confirmed nor contradicted by other sources.[6]

1. Its existence is known merely from quotations in later works. For details, see Misra, *YK*, 103-04.
2. This is clearly stated in the *Gauḍavaho* (verse 799) and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 144).
3. See *JBBRAS*, NS, III, 104. He is said to have been a rival of king Dharma of Lakṣmaṇāvatī (*ibid*; 107) and a disciple of Bappabhaṭṭi (*ibid.*).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
5. *Ibid.*, 116.
6. Pires treats the Jain evidence as untrustworthy and holds that the immediate successor of Yaśovarman was Vajrāyudha (*op. cit.*, 146). Misra forcefully pleads against ignoring or rejecting the Jain evidence (*YK*, 35).

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III

Polity and Administration

The epigraphs throw light on the titles and epithets customarily assumed by kings, feudatories and other state dignitaries, as on the administrative set up and government officials at the central, provincial, district and village levels, on revenue and taxation, on police and the judiciary as well as on military organisation. In some cases, however, it becomes difficult to determine the exact connotation of the administrative terms used, in the absence of necessary details. Even so the epigraphs are valuable and fairly authentic sources in this regard.

Titles and epithets of Kings and rulers

In ancient times the king was the mainstay and fountain-head of the entire administrative system. The constituents of his regal power and authority were believed to be three (*śakti-traya*[1]), viz. *prabhuttva* (majesty), *mantra* (counsel) and *utsāha* (energy).[2] His personal example mattered most and acted as a spur on the ministers and other state officials. Feudatory chiefs also played an important role in the scheme of administration.

The epigraphs at times draw a clear distinction between a *mahārāja* and *mahārājādhirāja*, by referring to some rulers as *mahārājas* and others as *mahārājādhirājas*. In the seal inscriptions of the Maukhari dynasty the first three rulers—Harivarman, Ādityavarman and Īśvaravarman–have been referred to as *mahārājas* which epithet in ancient times, from the Gupta period onwards, usually denoted feudatory status.[3] The three rulers were, in all probability feudatories of the Imperial Guptas. The fourth ruler, Īśānavarman and his successors viz., Śarvavarman, Avantivarman and Su-, are mentioned with the

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1. *Vide* the Deo Baranark Inscription.
2. *CII*, III, 217 n. 1.
3. During the Maurya period *rājā* itself was the designation of a paramount sovereign, and Aśoka, one of the greatest or perhaps the greatest ruler of Ancient India, has been referred to merely as *rājā* in his epigraphs. The Indo-Greek kings, however, used the title *mahārāja* for themselves. Perhaps Khāravela is the earliest indigenous ruler who used the title *mahārāja*.

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title *mahārājādhirāja*, indicating that they were independent rulers[1] ruling over a fairly large kingdom and were overlords of some feudal chiefs as well.[2] The Puṣpabhūti kings attained independent status with their fourth king Prabhākaravardhana. He and his two successors—Rājyavardhana II and Harṣa—have been referred to as *mahārājādhirājas*, while his predecessors—Naravardhana, Rājyavardhana I and Ādityavardhana—simply as *mahārājas*.[3] Though the Aphsad inscription which details the genealogy from Kṛṣṇagupta to Ādityasena, does not give the royal titles of the kings, yet from the account of the achievements of these rulers given in the epigraph, it may be said that Kumāragupta, who defeated Īśānavarman Maukhari, was perhaps the first ruler of the Later Gupta dynasty to attain independent status.

It may also be noted that sometimes a *mahārāja* held an additional title *bhaṭṭāraka* (literally 'worshipful one'), and a *mahārājādhirāja*, the title *paramabhaṭṭāraka* to which sometimes another one, *parameśvara* was also appended. In the Deo Baranark inscription we have the compound title *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* for the kings Devagupta, Viṣṇugupta and Jīvitagupta II, and in the Katra plate, for Rāmagupta and Jīvagupta as well. This compound title has been very commonly used in early medieval Indian epigraphs for kings ruling over a sizable kingdom.[4]

Ideal of Cakravartin

Epigraphs under study in some cases eulogise certain rulers in a manner that would suggest that they held *cakravartī* status. In the Maukhari seals, Harivarman Maukhari, who was merely a *mahārāja*, is praised as *catussamudrātikkrānta kīrtti* (one whose 'fame had crossed the four oceans') which epithet has almost the same connotation as the one—*caturudadhisalilāsvāditayaśaḥ*—used for Samudragupta[5]. It seems that Harivarman's successors, though fully aware of his feudatory status, wanted to glorify him as he was the founder of their dynasty. Prabhākaravardhana Puṣpabhūti is likewise eulogised in exactly the same words in all the epigraphs of Harṣa. He was an independent ruler (*mahārājādhirāja*) holding sway over a fairly large dominion. The Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa eulogise *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Rājyavardhana II as one 'who overspread the circle of the whole world with

1. The expression *rajatiraja* (*rājātirāja*) met with in some earlier epigraphs (eg. *SI*, 139; *ibid.*, 159) and coins does not occur in the epigraphs under study.
2. From the Gupta times onward, as Fleet remarks, *mahārājādhirāja* is the term which would stand up fully and properly to our ideals of a 'king' (*CII*, III, 10 fn), though in a few cases even important rulers of the Gupta period have been referred to, probably inadvertently, as *mahārājas* (*CII*, III, 47, line, 2).
3. According to Majumdar, these three rulers were probably feudatories of the Guptas or Hūṇas or of both at different stages (*HCIP*, III, 97).
4. So common had the title become that one epigraph merely states that a king was possessed of three kingly titles commencing with *paramabhaṭṭāraka* (*CII*, III, 10, n. 3).
5. Eg. *CII*, III, 43, line 1; 53 line 1.

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the canopy of his brilliant fame'.[1] Similarly the Aphsad inscription refers to Ādityasena as 'a guardian of the world by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered'[2], and whose fame had reached even lands across the ocean.[3] The reference to Mādhavagupta in the same epigraph as having *cakra* on his palm, is obviously meant to indicate *cakravartin* status for that ruler. The ideal of a *cakravartin* exercised a powerful spell on the Indian mind. No wonder therefore that the *praśasti* writers claimed that status for their patrons and other kings of the dynasty.

Kings likened to deities

Deification of kings was not uncommon in ancient India, and some ancient Indian legists have emphasized the divine nature of kingship.[4] The epigraphs under study, though they do not refer to kings as godheads, compare many of them with deities for some of their specific achievements, or qualities. Thus Harivarman Maukhari has been compared with Cakradhara (Viṣṇu) for removing the sufferings of his subjects[5], and Prabhākaravardhana with Ekacakraratha (Sun) on similar grounds.[6] Rājyavardhana has been compared with Dhanada (Kubera), Varuṇa and Indra for his lustre (*tejas*), and also with Sugata (Buddha) for his concern for the welfare of others.[7] Harṣa has been compared with Maheśvara (Śiva) for his being favourably disposed towards all beings[8]. Of the Later Gupta rulers, Jīvitagupta I is compared with Moon for his cool temperament,[9] Kumāragupta with Śikhivāhana (Kārttikeya)[10], Dāmodaragupta with Dāmodara (Viṣṇu)[11] and Mādhavagupta with Mādhava (Viṣṇu).[12] King Yaśovarman has been compared with Sun (Bhāsvat) for his brilliance.[13]

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1. *EI*, IV.
2. *CII*, III, 207.
3. *Ibid.*, 208.
4. Manu, for example, opines that the king verily is a great divinity in human form (*Manusmṛti*, VII, 4, 3).
5. *Vide* evidence of the seals of Maukhari dynasty.
6. *Vide* the Banskhera and Madhuban grants and the seals of Harṣa. In the case of Prabhākaravardhana, however, it may be noted that despite the comparison he has also been mentioned as a devout worshipper of Sun (*paramādityabhakta*).
7. *Vide* Banskhera and Madhuban grants.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Vide* the Aphsad inscription.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. Nālandā stone inscription.

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Royal succession

Kingship was hereditary. The term used to denote succession is *pādānudhyāta*, which is met with in all epigraphs of Harṣa, in the seal inscriptions of the Maukhari rulers, and also in the Deo Baranark inscription. The term literally means 'meditated upon the feet', but by implication was taken to mean 'favoured by (his predecessor)'. The Later Gupta and Maukhari epigraphs invariably record royal succession from father to son, but it is not indicated whether the successor was the eldest son.[1] However, the Puṣpabhūti epigraphs clearly state that Rājyavardhana was succeeded by his younger brother, Harṣa. The Nālandā sealing refers to Su.- as the son and successor of Avantivarman while the *Harṣacarita* mentions Grahavarman as the eldest son of Avantivarman. The succession from brother to brother in these cases, was perhaps dictated by circumstances, since the preceding kings had left no male heir.[2]

Duties of kings

The two important duties of kings were to expand the territories inherited by them, through fresh conquests, and to protect the kingdom from external aggression. In the epigraphs under study there are several references to kings humbling many enemies in battle.[3] But such references are mostly of a general nature, without any specific details. However, in some epigraphs specific mention is made of the kings, together with the regions they ruled, who were subdued and conquered by the rulers whose achievements are eulogised therein. The Jaunpur stone inscription[4] records the victory of a Maukhari king (Śarvavarman or one of his successors) over (the king) of Vindhya Mountain and the king of the Andhras. The Haraha inscription refers to the defeat of the Andhra king, the Śūlikas, and the Gauḍas at the hands of Īśānavarman Maukhari. The Later Gupta king, Kumāragupta, is credited with a victory over Īśānavarman Maukhari in the Aphsad inscription. In this very inscription Kumāragupta's son Dāmodaragupta, is stated to have defeated the Maukharis and it is claimed that his son Mahāsenagupta won a glorious victory over Susthitavarman (king of Kāmarūpa). The Banskhera and Madhuban copper plates refer to the defeat of Devagupta and other kings at the hands of Rājyavardhana II.

1. Normally the eldest son succeeded his father; however, a few instances of succession by a younger son either because of paternal preference or because of his forcibly occupying the throne, are also known. The other term *parigṛhīta* used in some epigraphs was perhaps meant to suggest that the king was selected by his father as successor (See Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, 84-85).
2. However, for Su-, see Appendix 'The Position of Su- in the Maukhari Chronology', pp. 34-35.
3. Eg. *nṛpa* Śārdūlavarman in Nagarjuni Hill Inscription (no. 1); Anantavarman in Barabar Hill Inscription; Kṛṣṇagupta and Harṣagupta in Aphsad inscription.
4. Line 7.

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Harivarman Maukhari in all the seal-inscriptions of the Maukhari dynasty and Prabhākaravardhana Puṣpabhūti in all the epigraphs of Harṣa, have been credited with bringing other kings under their sway by their prowess (*pratāpa*) as well as by affection (*anurāga*). In the case of the Maukhari ruler at least such claims appear exaggerated as we know for certain that Harivarman was himself a feudatory.[1] Of special note in regard to expansion of territories and sphere of influence by a ruler is the fact that force was not the only means resorted to gain this end and kings also won over some rulers by a gesture of good will and affection.

An important kingly duty mentioned specifically in the epigraphs is the regulation of *varṇas* and *āśramas* by the rulers. Harivarman Maukhari[2] and Prabhākaravardhana Puṣpabhūti[3] are referred to as kings who are stated to have regulated the *varṇas* and *āśramas*. Another important kingly duty mentioned is ensuring happiness and well-being of the subjects. In the Nagarjuni inscription (no. 2) Anantavarman is praised for his noble descent, wisdoms, prowess, modesty and his liberality towards his subjects. He is extolled as one who 'captivated the hearts of mankind'. It would also appear that kings were expected to have charming and prepossessing personalities, for some of the kings in the epigraphs have been compared to the god of love in physical charm.[5]

The queens and their titles

The Maukhari seal inscriptions make a distinction not only between the status of the first three rulers (referred to as *mahārājās*) and the rest (referred to as *mahārājādhirājas*), but also between their queens. The queens of the first three rulers are referred to as *bhaṭṭārikādevī* and the rest as *bhaṭṭārikā-mahādevī*. The Later Gupta king Ādityasena is called *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* and his queen as *paramabhaṭṭārikā-mahādevī* in the Mandar hill inscription. In the Deo Baranark inscription, curiously enough, Ādityasena has not been given any title (perhaps inadvertantly), while all his successors have been designated *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*. However, all the queens, including that of Ādityasena, have been referred to as *paramabhaṭṭārikā-rājñī-mahādevī*. In the Katra inscription of king Jīvagupta, he alongwith his father has been referred to as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*, while Jīvagupta's mother is referred to simply as *bhaṭṭārikā*.

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1. Of course, a feudatory could have under him smaller feudatories.
2. *Vide* Maukhari seals.
3. *Vide* the evidence of Banskhera and Madhuban grants and the seals of Harṣa.
4. *Vide* Barabar hill inscription.
5. E.g. Barabar hill inscription, line 3.

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In the epigraphs of Harṣa, the queens of his predecessors, except that of Prabhākaravardhana, have only *śrī* prefixed to their names. Yaśomatī, the queen of Prabhākaravardhana, has the honorific *devī* prefixed to her name when being referred to as the mother of Rājyavardhana, but *paramabhaṭṭārikā-mahādevī* when referred to as the mother of Harṣa.

Thus, generally, the titles of queens underwent changes in accordance with the status and titles of the kings. The queens referred to in the epigraphs under study held no office of state, and as such, sometimes it was not deemed necessary to add to their names the feminine form of the titles of the kings; perhaps it was presumed that their titles could be inferred from the status of their consorts.

Feudatories

Geographical, ethnic and cultural diversities in the kingdoms naturally precluded a streamlined and uniform system of administration, tribal and regional considerations and respect for local traditions as also the status of feudatory rulers being inportant factors in shaping the administrative set-up. This must have been particularly so in the reign of Harṣa under whom the two kingdoms of Thaneswar and Kanauj were united. Besides, during the period under review there were frequent military conflicts between rulers of different dynasties and the boundaries of kingdoms remained fluid during the reigns of successive rulers, and even during the rule of one ruler. Hence a well-knit centralised administration was hardly possible.

Mahārājas,[1] *rājās*[2] *rājānakas*[3] and *nṛpas*[4] were generally feudatory chiefs who ruled over different regions and enjoyed considerable freedom in internal administration. A little lower down in the feudal hierarchy were the *mahāsāmantas*[5] and *sāmantas*[6]. The feudatories paid regular tribute to the sovereign and presented themselves at the court on ceremonial occasions. Their overlord enjoyed the right of passage through territories held by them, and they

1. *Vide* the Banskhera and Madhuban grants.
2. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
3. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
4. *Vide* the two Nagarjuni inscriptions.
5. *Vide* Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa; Deo Baranark inscription; Katra inscription.
6. *Vide* Banskhera and Madhuban grants. The Nagarjuni inscription (no. 2) refers to Śārdūlavarman as *Sāmantacūḍāmaṇi*. The term *sāmanta* originally denoted a neighbouring king; later it came to be applied to those neighbouring kings who had been made subordinates (Lallanji Gopal, *JRAS*, 1963, 26). In later (mediaeval) times the *sāmantas* were no longer a class of subordinate rulers, but privileged nobles enjoying landed properties (Lallanji Gopal, *JRAS*, 1963, 37); they were mostly king's relatives, favourites or sons of dispossessed royal families (Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 148).

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were also under obligation to help him in his wars of conquest or when he faced an invasion. Some *mahārājas* and *rājās* also held important offices at the king's court.[1]

The title *pratīta-tikina* occurring in the Nālandā stone inscription of Yaśovarman seems to indicate a feudatory status, as *pratīta* is a Sanskrit word meaning 'famous', while *tikina* has been taken to be a variant of turkish *tigin*, *tegin*, or *tagin*, meaning 'a prince of blood', a title specially used for the son or brother of a *khan*.[2]

Similarly, the designation *rājaputra* (literally king's son) was, in all probability, given to sons of feudatory chiefs, and these ranked fairly high in the hierarchy of officials.[3]

Ministers and some other dignitaries

Attended by feudatory chiefs, friendly potentates and ambassadors from different parts of the kingdom, the royal court and even royal camps[4] presented a majestic spectacle. The entry to the king's presence was well regulated by palace guards—*mahāpratīhāras*[5] and *pratīhāras*.[6] Pomp and display of splendour also marked the king's processions on different occasions.[7]

The ministers at the capital together with subordinate officers of different ranks and status assisted the king in the administration of his domain. That the ministers played an important role in the government is amply borne out by the testimony of Hiuen-tsang.[8] The power and responsibilities of the ministers and other officers of different categories cannot be precisely determined for lack of adequate evidence; these often varied from time to time and region to region.

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1. Eg. *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Īśvaragupta of the Madhuban grant held the office of *mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta*.
2. *EI*, XX, 41. Sharma takes *Pratītatikin* as a personal name (*CHB*, 334).
3. Fleet, however, takes *rājaputra* as cognate with Marathi *rāut* and Gujrati *rāwat*, meaning a 'horse soldier' (*CII*, III, 218).
4. Cf. the description of Harṣa's camp at Maṇitāra (*HC*, CT, 46).
5. Katra inscription.
6. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription; Katra inscription.
7. Hiuen-tsang tells us that the royal procession from Kajughir to Kānyakubja was made up of colourful troops of soldiers in boats on the stream of the Gaṅgā and on elephant along the bank, together with thousands of common people, beating drums, blowing horns and playing on flutes and harps (*Records*, 218 ff.).
8. Hiuen-tsang (Beal, *Records*, I, 210) blames the ministers of Rājyavardhana for wrong counsel which led him to visit the enemy's camp where he was murdered treacherously. He also tells us that Harṣa was invited to accept the throne of Kanauj by the statesmen and ministers of the Maukhari kingdom (Watters, I, 343).

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Mantrin[1] was a general term to denote a minister. We come across the term *rājāmātya*[2] (literally 'king's minister') in the epigraphs. Perhaps he was the chief adviser to the king.[3]

Dūtaka[4] seems to have been a steward of the king whose main duty was to carry not only the actual charter sanctioning a grant but also his order in this regard to local officials; the latter's duty was to have the charter drawn up and delivered[5] to the grantee concerned. This office implied implicit trust and responsibility and was generally held by persons of high rank and status. No less a personage than Skandagupta[6] holding the ranks of *Mahāpramātā* and *mahāsāmanta*, acted as a *dūtaka* in connection with the Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa.

Mahākarttākṛtika[7] was another state officer of high rank. But it is difficult to determine his exact functions and duties. According to Sircar, this official perhaps informed the king about the progress made in special state undertakings.[8] Sharma holds that he was either in charge of some religious functions or was an executive official.[9]

The office of *sarvādhikārika* mentioned in an epigraph[10] is also referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*[11] wherein it seems to be equated with the office of prime minister. But in some cases it may be taken to stand for a 'minister plenipotentiary or viceroy', as pointed out by Sircar.[12]

The terms *dūta*[13] and *dūta-praiṣaṇika*[14] also occur in the list of officials of the time. *Dūta* was obviously an emissary or envoy. In the case of Harṣa and also Yaśovarman we have evidence of their having exchanged embassies with contemporary Chinese kings. Envoys to kings must have been dispatched by

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1. *Vide* Nālandā stone inscription.
2. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
3. It is suggested that, since according to Bāṇa (*vide* Agrawala, *Harṣacarita eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, 113), the title of *amātya* was held by the learned, high born and cultured crown-heads, and that *rājāmātya* may be taken as a sub-king who held the title of *amātya* (R.S. Sharma, in *CHB*, 335).
4. *Vide* Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa.
5. Fleet, *CII*, III, 100, n. 3.
6. This Skandagupta was perhaps the official of the same name who has been referred to as the commander of Harṣa's elephant corps in the *Harṣacarita* (CT, 189).
7. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
8. D. C. Sircar, *IE*, 360.
9. R. S. Sharma, *CHB*, 344,
10. *Vide* Katra inscription.
11. *RT*, VII, 586; *vide* Sircar, *EG*; 302.
12. Sircar, *EG*, 303.
13. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
14. *Vide ibid.*

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the sovereign himself but the responsibility of dispatching messengers elsewhere seems to have been that of a *dūta praiṣaṇika.*

The *mahāsāndhivigrahika*[1] was the minister of war and peace. In that age when wars between states were quite common, this officer must have been of very high rank and status. Under him were the *sāndhivigrahikas* referred to in some other epigraphs.[2]

The *kumārāmātyas*[3] served in various capacities. They are known to have been employed at the Centre as ministers[4], in the provinces (*bhuktis*) as governors,[5] and as heads of administration in the districts.[6] We also come across instances where the office of *Kumārāmātya* was combined with other important offices; as in one epigraph one officer is referred to as *kumārāmātya, śāndhivigrahika* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*[7] and in another someone as *mantrin, kumārāmātya* and *mahābalādhikṛta.*[8] Several interpretations of the term *kumārāmātya* have been given.[9] Of these the one that seems most appropriate is 'an *amātya* (minister) invested with certain princely privileges'.[10] It seems that the title carried with it high administrative duties and responsibilities.[11]

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1. *Vide* Katra inscription.
2. Eg. *CII*, III, no. 1.
3. The term occurs in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa as well as in the Deo Baranark inscription.
4. Some of them were attached to kings (*parama-bhaṭṭārakapādīya*, Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, 105), and some to *yuvarājas* (*yuvarāja-pādīya* or *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya, ibid.*, 104-05.).
5. See *Kumārāmātya* in charge of Magadhabhukti (Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, 103) and the one incharge of Nagarabhukti (*ibid.*, 104).
6. According to the evidence of the Damodarpur plates (*EI*, XV, 113 f) and the Baigram copper plate *EI*, XXI, 81-82), the *Kumārāmātyas* also acted as *viṣayapatis* during the rule of Kumāragupta I.
7. *CII*, III, no. 1, pp. 9-10.
8. *EI*, X, pp. 71-72.
9. The various interpretations could be 'a junior minister' (Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 562-63); 'a prince's minister' (Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, 107); 'minister in charge of princes' (Vaidya, *HMHI*, I, 138); 'a minister whose father is alive' (*PHAI*, 562 n); 'one who has been a minister since youth' (*EI*, X, 50. n); an officer who has been a companion of the king while he was a prince; 'an *amātya* raised to the rank of prince' (Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XVII, 399) or 'an *amātya* enjoying the status of a prince of royal blood' (Sircar, *IE*, 358), etc. See also Thaplyal, *SAIS*, 107 ff.
10. Thaplyal, *SAIS*, 108 and 113.
11. In some cases, however, the possibility of its being an honorary title cannot be precluded, particularly in instances where it is appended with other epithets borne by the same person.

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Rājasthānīya[1] is one more important official to be met with in the epigraphs under study. Literally, the term may mean either 'one belonging to a *Rājasthāna* (king's abode),'[2] or 'one occupying the position of a *rājā*,'[3] or 'an officer dealing with the *rājasthānas* (kingdoms).[4] The last interpretation would indicate that he was an officer in charge of relations with other kingdoms.[5] If, however, *rājasthāna* is taken to mean a province, then the officer in question was its governor.[6] The *Lokaprakāśa*[7] refers to this functionary as 'he who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them'. On this basis Bühler is inclined to think that the officer was 'viceroy'.[8] D. C. Sircar[9] points out that *Subodhikā* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* indicates that *rājasthānīya* was a subordinate ruler.[10] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* this officer seems to have been connected with the administration of justice.[11]

Mārgapati[12] literally means 'guardian of routes'. On the basis of cognate expression like *mārgeśas*, *mārgapas adhvapas*, used for guardians of passes or frontiers in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, *mārgapati* may be taken to refer to the chief of these officers.[13] Under him there must have been subordinate officials at different levels.

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1. The term occurs in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa as well as in the Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II (line 9). It is also met with on Maliya grant of Dharasena and the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*IA*, XV, 306). Cf. also *rājasthān-ādhikāra* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. (VII. 601; VIII, 181, 573 etc.).
2. Fleet, *CII*, III, 157 n. 1.
3. *Ibid*.
4. Tripathi, *HK*, 138.
5. Bhagwanlal Indraji suggests its rendering as 'political agent' or 'regent' (*vide CII*, III, 157 n).
6. Pires (*op. cit.*, 170) takes *rājasthānīyas* to be political agents of a king in the provinces ruled by subordinates.
7. *Lokaprakāśa*, *prakaraṇa* IV, *vide* Bühler, *IA*, V, 207.
8. Bühler, *IA*, 207.
9. Sircar, *IE*, 366.
10. In the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, *rājasthānêya* is placed above the official *kumārāmātya* while in Harṣa's epigraphs he is placed below *mahāpramātāra*. In the Maliya grant of Dharasena (*CII*, III, no. 38) and the Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II, this office comes quite low in the official hierarchy. In the Deo Baranark inscription we have the expression *rājasthānīyoparika*. It has been suggested that since we meet with this expression in later epigraphs quite often, it refers to a single officer who combined in him the duties and responsibilities of a *rājasthānīya* and *uparika* (R. S. Sharma in *CHB*, 345). This argument, however, does not seem to hold ground as we have also the compound expression *kumārāmātyoparika* in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa, obviously referring to two different officials.
11. Stein *RT*, I, 316 n.
12. The official designation is met with in the Nālandā stone inscription.
13. Stein, *RT*, II, 391; Sastri, *EI*, XX, 41.

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Sundry other officials

Goṣṭhānakula[1] was an official performing the duties of a government herdsman. *Kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣyadhikṛta*[2] was the superintendent of mules, cows and buffaloes. It has been suggested that he was a 'glorified herdsman or a shepherd of the kingdom'[3].

Tadāyuktaka[4] and *viniyuktaka*[5] were stereotyped official designations to indicate certain grades of subordinates and assistants of some high officers.[6] The *sevakas*[7] obviously were menial servants under various departments.

Administrative divisions and their officials

The territory under the king's direct administration was divided into *bhuktis*, under the charge of governors. Generally the governor of a *bhukti* was styled as *uparika*.[8] From the Imperial Gupta records we know that some *uparikas* had the additional title of *mahārāja*.[9] Probably such *uparikas* were scions of old royal families. The *bhukti* was further subdivided into smaller units for purposes of administration. The Madhuban copper plate refers to the grant of a village Somakuṇḍakā of the Kuṇḍadhānī *viṣaya* in the *bhukti* of *Śrāvastī*, while the Banskhera plate to the village Markaṭasāgara situated in the western *pathaka* of Aṅgadīya *viṣaya* in the Ahicchatrā *bhukti*. The Katra copper plate inscription mentions Harigrāma and two other villages situated on the north-

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1. *Vide*, Deo Baranark inscription (as restored).
2. *Vide ibid.*
3. R. S. Sharma in *CHB*, 346.
4. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription (as restored). *Āyukta* seems to be the same as *yuktas* of the Aśokan epigraphs wherein his position seems to be that of a governor of district (Rock Edict III of Aśoka, *vide* Sircar, *SI*, 19). Cf. also the *Āyuktapuruṣa*, referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (*CII*, III, no. 1).
5. *Ibid.*
6. Sircar, *IE*, 359.
7. *Vide* Banskhera and Madhuban inscriptions.
8. This officer is mentioned in Harṣa's Banskhera and Madhuban grants also in the Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II. The etymology of the word *uparika* shows that he was originally an officer whose duty was to realise *uparikara*, i.e. tax in addition to the fixed annual share of produce. According to Chhabra (*Ācārya Puṣpāñjali*, volume in honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, 233), the evidence of *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* would indicate that an *uparika* was invested with two-fold authority –judicial and administrative—and his position was that of a magistrate. (*GP*, 243), takes the term *uparika* to mean 'one who is above others' and says that it was a title of distinction at times held by provincial governors because of their important position in the administrative set-up.
9. *EI*, XV, pp. 115 and 142 (text). In one case the expression is *uparika-mahārāja-rājputra-devabhaṭṭāraka*. The *uparika* in this case was probably the son of a king (*ibid.*, 144).

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eastern part of Tiṣṭihalapāṭaka in the Cāmuṇḍā *viṣaya* of Tīrabhukti[1]. Thus *bhukti*, *viṣaya*, *pathaka* (perhaps *pāṭaka* was another form of *pathaka*)[2] and *grāma* were the main territorial and administrative subdivisions of a kingdom.[3] The head of a *viṣaya* was called *viṣayapati*.

The *bhukti* and *viṣaya* are generally taken to correspond to a present-day Commissioner's division and district respectively.[4] Larger *bhuktis*, however, have been equated with modern provinces.[5] Sometimes provinces were named with reference to their cardinal direction. The official *udīcīpati* mentioned in the Nalanda Stone Inscription-Yaśovarman was obviously governor of the northern province (*udīcī*). Smaller *viṣayas* may be equated with present-day *tehsils*. A *pathaka* was a subdivision of a *viṣaya*.

The size of the *bhuktis*, *viṣayas* and other administrative divisions varied from region to region and time to time. Considerations of size of population, geography, revenue resources, political exigencies and in some cases even tradition seem to have determined the size of an administrative division. Thus the same territorial unit could be a kingdom, a province or a district at different times under differing circumstances.

The epigraphs under study do not indicate the mode of appointment of the officer in charge of these administrative units. However, from the epigraphs of the Imperial Guptas[6] we learn that the appointment of the *uparikas* was made by the king, and that of the *viṣayapatis*[7] by the *uparikas*. The same practice perhaps continued during the rule of the kings of the epigraphs under study.

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1. This *bhukti* is also referred to in the records of the Imperial Gupta period (Thaplyal, *SAIS*, 104).
2. Literally 'enjoyment', i.e. *jagir*.
3. All these, except the *pathaka* are met with in the Gupta epigraphs. The term *janapada* also occurs in Harṣa's grants. It has been taken to denote some form of democratic government in rural areas (Bhandarkar, *CLHAI*, 174).
4. Altekar in *NHIP*, VI, 283.
5. Devahuti suggests that larger *bhuktis* seems to have been referred to as *deśas in* some Gupta epigraphs (*op. cit.*, 195). Sircar, however, translates *deśa* as a 'district' (*IE*, 379).
6. *EI*, XV, 113 f.
7. *Viṣayapati* finds mention in Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa and in the Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II. The Damodarpur plates (*EI*, XV, 113) indicate that the *viṣayapatis* had their offices at the district headquarters and were assisted in the work of administration by a board of which the prominent members were the chief banker (*nagaraśreṣṭhin*), chief merchant (*sārtthavāha*), chief artisan (*prathama-kulika*) and chief scribe (*prathama-kāyastha*). Some of the *viṣayapatis* were *kumārāmātyas*.

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The vilage was the smallest and the basic unit of administration.[1] Villages had fixed territorial boundaries, were largely self-sufficient in their economy, and enjoyed a fair degree of autonomy. Unlike the cities and towns, they generally remained undisturbed by wars and the fall of empires and fate of kings. The *mahattaras*, met with in the Deo Baranark inscription, were the village headmen who were responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in the villages, collection of taxes and other sundry duties. The *mahattaras* as the literal meaning of the term would indicate, must have been men of prominence by virtue of their age, ability, experience or wealth.[2] Then came the heads of families who were known as *kuṭumbins*.[3] The *agrahāra* villages were perhaps administered by the Brāhmaṇa donees themselves with the help of functionaries[4], perhaps appointed by them.

Officers connected with the administration of town hardly figure in the epigraphs under study. There is, however, an officer of the designation *gamā-gamika* mentioned in one of the epigraphs[5] who was perhaps responsible for regulating entry and exit of people in and from towns.

Land management revenue and taxation

During the period under review, a fairly well organised system of land settlement was in vogue. Cultivated land holdings were duly surveyed and measured. Demarcation of boundaries of the holdings was done by officials called *simakarmakaras*.[6] *Pramāṭṛ*[7] according to Ghoshal,[8] was also an officer connected with land survey.[9] *Talāvāṭaka*[10] was perhaps an officer who looked

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1. Seals from Nalanda indicate that the villages had their own seals. Some villages formed themselves into something like modern boards (see legend *grāmajanapada*, Sastri, *MASI*, 66, 45-47).
2. The village records were maintained by *grāmākṣapaṭalika* (*HC*, original, 228; CT, 198). Vaidya is of the view that *grāmākṣapaṭalika* was the headman (*HMHI*, I, 131). Sircar suggests that a *akṣapaṭalika* also acted, at least in some parts of the country, as 'accountant' (*IE*, 360).
3. The term occurs in Deo Baranark inscription.
4. We come across the term *agrahārika* in a sixth century epigraph (*SI*, 373). He was either the Brāhmaṇa donee of the village himself or an official of that designation looking after the *agrahāra*.
5. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
6. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
7. The term occurs in the grants of Harṣa and in the Deo Baranark inscription.
8. In *HCIP*, III, 348.
9. Tripathi takes him to be a judge (*HK*, 140). Bühler considers him to be a spiritual counsellor (*EI*, 1, 118). Devahuti thinks that his main duty was to interpret the *Dharmaśāstras* but perhaps he also looked into the legal aspects of land grants which, in a way, were religious documents (Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 185).
10. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.

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after the management of low-lying lands.[1] The epigraphs under study do not throw light on the mode of land transactions. However, we have fairly detailed accounts in this regard in some of the epigraphs of the Imperial Guptas,[2] and we may infer that the same practice was in vogue during the period under review.

The king made handsome donations from the crown-lands to temples, monasteries, and also to Brāhmaṇas and other individuals as reward for meritorious service or in recognition of their learning. Generally, the donees received full proprietary rights of the land granted to them, but in the case of a whole village or villages being donated, only the right to revenue was transferred to the donees.[3] The Banskhera and the Madhuban plates record the grants of whole villages by king Harṣa to Brāhmaṇas.[4]

During Harṣa's reign there existed a separate department of records and archives which kept true and faithful record of the administration and important events as per Hiuen-tsang's testimony.[5] Incidentally, reference may also be made to the official designation *karaṇika* (writer of official documents) occurring in the Nalanda stone inscription of the time of Yaśovarman.

The *Mahākṣapaṭalikādhikaraṇādhikṛta* referred to in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants was perhaps the highest revenue officer[6] with subordinates at different levels.[7] Devahuti, however, takes him to be an officer dealing with the legal aspects of land management.[8]

The main source of state revenues was land-tax which was generally fixed at about one-sixth of the gross produce.[9] Other taxes included octroi duties and cesses paid by tradesman at ferries and barrier stations.[10] Fines

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1. Sharma in *CHB*, 336. Bhagwanlal Indraji reads it as *talāvaṭaka* and takes it for an officer similar to modern *taḷāṭī* or *taḷāṭhī*, i.e. 'a village accountant' (as quoted in *CII*, III, 217 n).
2. See particularly the evidence of the Damodarpur copper plates (*EI*, XV, 113 f).
3. We may presume that *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* of the Banskhera and Madhuban grants were expected not to enter a donated village, as is specifically mentioned in other epigraphs.
4. There is a reference in the *Harṣacarita* (CT, 199) to the grant of one hundred villages to Brāhmaṇas. The *Life* (p. 154) tells us that Harṣa offered the grant of eighty townships to the Buddhist scholar, Jayasena, a favour which the latter politely declined.
5. Watters, I, 154; Beal, *Records*, I, 78.
6. From the Banskhera grant we learn that a high dignitary like *mahāsāmanta mahārāja* Bhāna (Bhānu ?) held this office. Similarly, the Madhuban grant of a later date shows that *Sāmanta mahārāja* Īśvaragupta occupied that post.
7. *HC*, CT, 198.
8. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 197.
9. Beal, *Records*, I, 87; Watters, I, 176.
10. Watters, I, 176.

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imposed for certain categories of offences also constituted an important source of income. Some idea of the different sources of revenue may be gleaned from the terms of fiscal import occurring in the Banskhera and Madhuban grants. The two epigraphs mention, in identical terms, two categories of taxes—*udraṅga*, i.e. land tax,[1] and *sarvarāja-kula-bhāvya pratyāya*, i.e. 'all the dues (*pratyāya*) which were due to royalty', and then proceed to list the following taxes :

(1) *tulyameya* (a tax levied on articles of merchandise according to their weight and measure).[2]
(2) *bhāga* (king's share of grain),
(3) *kara* (tax in kind),[3]
(4) *bhoga* (periodical offerings),[4] and
(5 *hiraṇya* (tax in cash).

The same two grants of Harṣa record that the facility of *bhūmichidranyāya* was also available to the grantees. This means that the donees could bring a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation without paying rent at rates applicable to cultivated land.

Besides *udraṅga*, the Deo Baranark inscription refers to *uparikara* (most probably impost on non-proprietary peasants) and also to fines imposed for the offences termed as *dāśāparādhas*[5] (ten offences).

The same epigraph mentions an officer designated *cauroddharaṇika*, who, apart from apprehending thieves, perhaps also collected a tax levied on the general public for their protection against thieves.[6] The tax *udraṅga*, referred to above, also finds mention in the Katra inscription of Jīvagupta. The epigraph has another fiscal term *pratyādāya* which seems to be the same as *pratyāya* of the grants of Harṣa, referred to above.

All the aforestated taxes are found mentioned in the epigraphs in connection with land grants which specifically lay down that these taxes which were paid to the state were, thenceforth, to be paid to the donees. It is interesting to note that the Katra plate inscription of Jīvagupta records that 'the localities were granted by the king as a permanent gift', with the right to the usual

1. Vaidya cites several epigraphic examples in support of the view that *udraṅga* was land tax and *uparikara* was extra tax (*HMHI*, I, 131-32). Sircar takes *udraṅga* to be the principal tax (*IE*, 360).
2. Bühler takes *tulyameya* not as a tax but as adjective to the taxes that follow, and translates it as 'to be given according to the weight and according to measure' (*EI*, I, 75).
3. D.C. Sircar suggests the possibility of *bhāga-bhoga-kara* as one compound meaning 'tax in the shape of *bhāga* and *bhoga*' (*IE*, 394).
4. Bühler translates *bhāga-bhoga* as 'share of the product enjoyed by the king' (*EI*, I, 75).
5. cf. the officer *daśāparādhika* mentioned in the Deo Baranark inscription.
6. Ghoshal, *HRS*, 243, n. 2.

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taxes, and 'together with land and water, with the mango and *madhūka* trees, with pits and barren lands...with their hamlets, with metal and salt mines'.[1] This shows that the king had also ownership over water reservoirs, mines and other underground resources as also over fruit trees and trees of commercial value in the common land of the village.

The grant of the villages together with their sources of revenue to the Brāhmanas or in the name of the deities or to temples must have deprived the royal exchequer of a considerable slice of its income.[2]

The foregoing information gleaned from the epigraphs is too sketchy to arrive at any clear estimate of fiscal burden borne by the people. It may, however, be noted that Hiuen-tsang would have us believe that taxation was light and forced labour scarce and that there was no undue interference by the state in the lives and liberties of the people.[3]

Judiciary

As was the case in most of the monarchical forms of government in ancient times, the king was looked upon as the fountain-head of justice and was the highest court of appeal. There were courts of justice at different levels in the administration down to the village. The dispensation of justice was based on the *Dharmaśāstras* and also on local customs.[4]

The epigraphs under study mention certain official designations connected with the judiciary. The *dāśāparādhika*[5] was probably a judge who tried persons accused of one or more of the ten crimes like theft, murder, adultery,

1. Sircar's translation (*EI*, XXXV, 127).
2. The epigraphs do not furnish any details about the expenditure side of administration. From Hiuen-tsang's testimony, however, we come to know of four-fold division of income from royal land under Harṣa's administration, viz. (i) for expenses of government and state worship, (ii) for endowment to important public servants, (iii) for rewarding men of high intellectual eminence and (iv) for acquiring religious merit through gifts to various sects (Watters, I, 176). He also informs that ministers and common officials received their salaries not in cash but in the form of grants of tracts of land or whole villages or even towns (*ibid.*, 177).
3. Watters, I, 176.
4. Hiuen-tsang's testimony (Watters I, 171-72) shows that punishments were rather severe and ordeals of various sorts were resorted to in determining the guilt or otherwise of the accused (*ibid.*, 172). Of the officials mentioned in the epigraphs, a fairly large number belong to the military and police category. Notwithstanding a large standing army, a sizable police force and deterrant punishment meted out to offenders during Harṣa's time, the kingdom was not free from highwaymen. The Chinese pilgrim gives us a hair-raising account of his being waylaid by a band of robbers (*Life*, 87 f.).
5. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.

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use of abusive language, etc. *Pramātāra*,[1], according to some scholars was a judge.[2]

The *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*,[3] it appears, was an officer of very high rank. However, no explicit mention has been made of his duties. On etymological grounds the term has been interpreted variously as chief of the officers holding *daṇḍa* (baton), i.e. a high police officer,[4] commander of the army (*daṇḍa*),[5] and chief of the officers meting out punishment (*daṇḍa*), i.e. a judge.[6] D.R. Bhandarkar who has discussed this title in great detail is of the view that like 'Duke', 'Earl' and Viscount, it was a hereditary title of nobility and rendered military and other service to the king and maintained a certain number of horses elephants etc.[7] Similarly, the *daṇḍika*[8] (literally a 'chastiser') was either a judicial functionery or a p olice officer.

Police

The epigraphs also contain a few designations of certain categories of police officers but these do not throw light on their order of rank in the official hierarchy.

The *daṇḍapāśika*[9] (literally one who carries a staff and noose) was some kind of a police officer. The *cauroddharaṇika*[10] (literally 'exterminator of thieves') was another police officer who performed two duties viz., collection of taxes from public for protection against thieves,[11] and meting out punishment to the latter.[12] We have already discussed above the possibility of *daṇḍanāyaka* and *dāṇḍika* being police officers.

The exact nature of the office of *daussādhasādhanika*[13] (literally 'accomplisher of difficult tasks') is difficult to ascertain. Basak takes him to be a 'porter or superintendent of village'.[14] D.C. Sircar takes him to be 'a leader of

1. *Vide* Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa.
2. See Tripathi, *HK*, 140. Bühler takes him to be a spiritual councillor (*EI*, I, 118). For the view that he was an officer connected with the land survey see *supra*.
3. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
4. Stein, *RT*, I, *taraṅga*. 7, v. 951; Vogel, *ACS*, 123; Bhandarkar, *ASIAR*, 1914-15, 82.
5. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 563; Fleet, *CII*, III, 16 n; Alteker, *SGAI*, 343; Sircar, *IE*, 364.
6. Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, 109, Beni Prasad, *SAI*, 295; Mookerji, *GE*, 152; Banerji, *AIG*, 77; Dikshitar. *GP*, 222.
7. *CII*, III, by Bhandarkar, 95.
8. *Vide* the Deo Baranark inscription.
9. *Ibid.* It is interesting that on a sealing of a *daṇḍapāśika* from Basarh we find a male figure carrying a staff, *daṇḍa* (see *ASIAR*, 1903-04, 105).
10. *Vide* the Deo Baranark inscription.
11. See Ghoshal, *HRS*, 243, n. 2.
12. D.R. Bhandarkar takes him to be head of detective bureau (*CII*, III, by Bhandarkar, 99)
13. *Vide*, Deo Baranark inscription.
14. *EI*, XII, 141.

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expeditionary forces requisitioned on occasions of emergency.'[1] R. S. Sharma, however, holds that he was high police official dealing with turbulent and recalicitrant elements.[2]

Army

Wars and invasions were common features during the period covered by the epigraphs under study. Kings and rulers could therefore ill-afford neglect of military preparedness, and gave full attention to the strengthening of their fighting forces.[3] The epigraphs also contain references to different branches of the army and its officers, as also to the victory camps (*jayaskandhāvāras*) of kings.

The Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa were issued from the 'victory camps' at Vardhamānakoṭi and Kapitthikā respectively. The Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II was issued from his victory camp near Gomatikoṭṭaka, and the Katra grant of Jīvagupta was issued from his victory camp at Tārā. The two victory camps of Harṣa are described as abounding in 'boats, elephants and horses'; and the victory camp of Jīvitagupta II, as an array of boats elephants, cavalry and infantry. The traditional four divisions of the army in ancient India, as is well-known, were infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and chariots. In the above cited evidence of epigraphs the fourth traditional wing—chariots—is conspicuous by its absence.[4] Mention of boats in the epigraphs alongwith the three branches of the army, however, looks

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1. *IE*, 364-65. According to Sircar the word *sādhanika* forming a part of this designation is the same as Prākṛt *sahania* and means 'the commandant of an army' (*ibid.*, 365).
2. In *CHB*, 341. Sharma further says that the criminal elements this official had to deal with came of turbulent tribes not easily amenable to law and order, and hence *duḥsādhya*, i.e. difficult to be controlled (*ibid.*). In later epigraphs we also come across the official *mahādauḥ-sādhasādhanika* who obviously was the chief of the *dauḥ-sādhasādhanikas*.
3. The epigraphs do not throw any light on the strength of the army. However, according to Hiuen-tsang, Harṣa had initially 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 foot soldiers, but later increased the size of his army bringing the strength of the elephant corps to 60,000 and that of cavalry to 1,00,000 (Beal, *Records*, I, 213). The figures seem inflated. Presumably these include besides the standing army at the royal capital, also troops stationed at different centres of the empire.
4. The account of Hiuen-tsang (Watters, I, 171) in this respect is a little different from the description in the epigraphs. According to him, Harṣa's army comprised the traditional four wings, viz. infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and chariots. It appears that the account of the Chinese pilgrim is not authentic. He merely seems to have enumerated the four-fold traditional wings of the army, not the actual ones as they then existed. The chariot wing of the army seems to have gone out of vogue by that time. Neither the epigraphs of the period nor the *Harṣacarita* makes any mention of a chariot wing in army.

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somewhat unusual. It would seem that boats were meant for riverine military transport and did not constitute a separate naval wing.

In the Deo Baranark inscription we have mention of an officer designated as *hastyaśvoṣṭrabalavyāpṛtaka* (i.e. 'superintendent of royal elephants, horses and camels'). There is a remote possibility that there was also a camel corps in the army, besides cavalry and elephant corps. The camels, could be for the purpose of military transport.[1]

It appears that cavalry[2] and elephant corps[3] had a very important place in the armed forces. The Jaunpur stone inscription refers to the elephant corps; and the Haraha inscription refers to the Andhra ruler as having 'thousands of three-fold rutting elephants', and the Śūlikas as having 'an army of countless galloping horses'. The Aphsad inscription refers to Kṛṣṇagupta as one who like a lion bruised 'the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemies...'. This epigraph also speaks of the cities of that very ruler being crowded with thousands of elephants. The Maukharis too, it would appear, had a powerful elephants corps, for the inscription credits the Later Gupta ruler, Kumāragupta with breaking through the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis. The same epigraph also refers in glowing terms to Ādityasena as the destroyer of the elephants of his enemies. The *Harṣacarita* also bears ample testimony to the importance given to cavalry and elephant corps.[4]

The epigraphs provide very little information on the different categories and ranks of officers in the army. The Banskhera and Madhuban grants of Harṣa and the Deo Baranark inscription (as restored) refer to *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas*,

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1. In the *Harṣacarita* (CT, 46-47) there is a mention of 'troops of camels'. From this Tripathi (*HK*, 131 n) infers that the camel corps was a regular fighting force. For *contra*, see Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 191.
2. We are told that Rājyavardhana marched against the Hūṇas at the head of a strong military force, and against the Mālava ruler at the head of 10,000 strong cavalry. The evidence of seal inscriptions of the Gupta period shows that there were several categories of cavalry officers like *aśvapati* i.e. 'cavalry officer' (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, 53, no. 33), *mahāśvapati*, i.e. 'great cavalry officer' (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 52, no. 32) and *bhaṭāśvapati* 'heroic cavalry officer' (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 109, no. 18). The seals also refer to an officer jointly incharge of cavalry and elephant corps (*hayahastyadhikārī*, *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 81).
3. There was a sizable elephant corps in Harṣa's army when he lead an invasion against the Gauḍa king. The epigraphs express the fanciful belief that there are pearls to be found inside the forehead of elephants (see e.g. Aphsad inscription, line 15, *dalitārikarīndramuktārajaḥ*). The elephant corps had its disadvantages, for in the face of a fierce charge by the enemy, they sometimes turned back and trampled upon soldiers of their own army.
4. *Supra.*

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which terms probably stand for irregular and regular soldiers respectively.[1] These constituted the lower ranks of the army. There is mention of the *balādhyakṣa* in the Shahpur image inscription. In the Katra inscription *senāpati* finds a place in the list of officials mentioned in connection with a land grant. As regards the ranks of the aforementioned military officials, the commentary of Kullūka on the *Manusmṛti*[2] tells us that *balādhykṣa* was a military officer who had under him a number of *senāpatis*, and the latter, a number of *pattikas* under them.[3] Reference has already been made to the possibility of *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* being a military officer.[4]

The Deo Baranark inscription mentions an official designated as *sara-bhaṅga*. The exact functions of this official is difficult to ascertain. D.C. Sircar takes *sarabhaṅga* as derived from Persian *sarhang*, i.e. 'a commander'.

Certain commonly agreed rules of warfare were in vogue from very early times. The epigraphs under study, however, provide no details about such conventions. There is only an oblique reference in this regard in the Aphsad inscription, wherein king Ādityasena is eulogised as one who "has a pure and celebrated reputation (acquired) by honourable behaviour in war".[5]

Epigraphs also give us some idea of the weapons[6] of war. Bows, arrows and sword seem to have been the most important and commonly used weapons. Skill in archery and deftness in the use of the sword were highly prized. The Maukhari rulers Anantavarman,[7] Ādityavarman[8] and Īśānavar-man[9] have been eulogised in the inscriptions for their dexterity in archery. Prince Sūryavarman Maukhari is referred to as an expert in wielding the sword deftly in warfare.[10] King Harṣagupta is referred to as 'raining down a

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1. *IA.*, V, 1876, 115 n; *CII*, III, 98. Vogel, however, on the basis of the present day officer *chad* in Chamba region considers *cāṭas* as heads of the *paraganas* and *bhaṭas* as their subordinates (*Antiquities of Camba State*, Part I, 130-32). Indraji takes the word to mean 'soldiers against robbers' (*IA*, Ix, p. 175, no. 41). Devahuti takes them to be ordinary members of the police force (*op. cit.*, 186). Cf. *cara-bhaṭa* of the *Harṣacarita* which term is used for soldiers in the vanguard of the infantry (Devahuti, *op. cit.*, 186). D.C. Sircar takes *cāṭa* to be a leader of a group of *bhaṭas*, i.e. constables (*IE*, 361).
2. On *Manusmṛti*, VII, 189.
3. *Pattika* in that scheme would be the lowest in the hierarchy of military officers.
4. The *Harṣacarita* also mentions several military officials. See Tripathi *HK*, 137.
5. *CII*, III, 208.
6. According to the Hiuen-tsang, the weaponry comprised swords, sabres, lances, spears, javelins, bows and arrows, battle-axes, slings, shields etc. (Beal, *Records*, I, 89; Watters, I, 171).
7. *Vide* Nagarjuni Hill Inscription of Anantavarman (no. 2).
8. *Vide* Jaunpur stone inscription.
9. *Vide* Haraha stone inscription.
10. *Ibid.*

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terrible flight of arrows from (his) firm bow'.[1] King Mahāsenagupta is also referred to as wielder of bow and sword.[2] Ādityasena is said to have killed elephants of his enemies with his scimitar.[3]

The epigraphs do not give us any idea about the mode of appointment of officers and other state employees.[4] There is also no reference to the mode of payment of salaries to the administrative personnel. We, however, learn from Hiuen-tsang's testimony that during the rule of Harṣa the government officials were paid by grants of land.[5]

Some high dignitaries of state mentioned in the epigraphs held multiple titles,[6] and in some cases we find civil and military titles affixed to the name of one and the same officer or dignitary. This could indicate that some officers were assigned more than one office.[7] In some cases the multiple titles may be explained away as being the result of the practice of the dignitaries being allowed to use titles connected with the offices previously held by them along with that of the offices they held at that time. It would appear that in ancient India, civil and military administration was not divided into watertight compartments, and the same officer often performed both civil and military duties.

The mention in the epigraphs of different categories of civil and military officials as well as prominent citizens of the locality in the context of investing *agrahāra* grants on the Brāhmaṇas has led some scholars to conclude that there was a democratic element and popular participation in the administration. But this conclusion seems rather bold and the procedure was most probably a mere formality.

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1. *Vide* Aphsad inscription.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. The Deo Baranark inscription, in a general way refers to certain persons as subsisting on the favour of king's feet. Royal favour would have been an important factor in higher appointments.
5. Watters, I, 177.
6. E.g. one Skandagupta is referred to as *dūtaka*, *mahāpramātāra* and *mahāsāmanta* (vide Banskhera and Madhuban plates). The father of Mālada is referred to as *mantrin*, *mārgapati*, *udīcīpati* and *pratīta tikina* (*vide* Nalanda stone inscription).
7. In a few cases the possibility of some titles being honorary cannot be precluded. In the Banskhera plate Bhāna (Bhānu) is referred to as *mahārāja*, *mahāsāmanta* and *mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta*. Not unlikely, of these the last one alone was connected with his office during the issue of the grant.

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APPENDIX

Administrative Units and Other Geographical Names in the Epigraphs

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Unit*	*Reference*
1.	Ahicchatrā	*bhukti*	Banskhera grant.
2.	Aṅgadīya	*viṣaya*	Banskhera grant.
3.	Aṅgāra	village	Mangraon inscription.
4.	Cāmuṇḍā	*viṣaya*	Katra plate inscription.
5.	Cundaskīlā	*tapovana*	Mangraon inscription.
6.	Dhārā	city (?)	Jaunpur inscription.
7.	Gaṅgā	river	Nalanda stone inscription.
8.	Garggarākaṭa	locality	Haraha inscription.
9.	Gauḍa	region	Aphsad inscription.
10.	Gomatikoṭṭaka	fort	Deo Baranark inscription.
11.	Harigrāma	village	Katra plate.
12.	Kailāsa	mountain	Nalanda stone inscription.
13.	Kapitthikā	victory camp	Madhuban grant.
14.	Kaṭukka	region	Mangraon inscription.
15.	Kośavardhana	locality (?)	Aphsad inscription.
16.	Kuṇḍadhānī	*viṣaya*	Banskhera grant.
17.	Lauhitya	river	Aphsad inscription.
18.	Mandāra	mountain	Aphsad inscription.
19.	Markaṭasāgara	village	Banskhera grant.
20.	Nagarabhukti	*bhukti*	Deo Baranark inscription.
21.	Nālandā	locality	Shahpur inscription; Nalanda stone inscription.
22.	Naraddarikā	locality (?)	Nalanda stone inscription.
23.	Pravaragiri	hill	Barabar inscription.
24.	Prayāga	city	Aphsad inscription.
25.	Raivataka	hill	Jaunpur inscription.
26.	Somakuṇḍakā	Village	Banskhera grant.
27.	Śrāvastī	*bhukti*	Banskhera grant.
28.	Sumeru	hill	Nalanda stone inscription.
29.	Surabhākrā	village	Katra plate.

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30. Tārā	*bhukti* camp	Katra plate.
31. Tīra	*bhukti*	Katra plate.
32. Tiṣṭihalapāṭaka	*pāṭhaka* (?)	Katra plate.
33. Vālavī	*viṣaya*	Deo Baranark inscription.
34. Varddhamāna-koṭi	victory camp	Banskhera grant.
35. Vāruṇikā	village	Deo Baranark inscription.
36. Vindhya	hill	Nagarjuni inscription no. 2; Jaunpur stone inscription.
37. Yāmyā	village	Katra plate.

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IV

Socio-Economic Conditions

In theory and to a great extent in practice, social life and economic organisation seem to have followed the traditional pattern based on the *varṇas* and *āśramas* ('caste and stages of life'). The Brāhmaṇas were expected to devote themselves to the cultivation of learning and teaching and conducting religious ceremonies and rituals; the Kṣatriyas, to fight wars and wield the sceptre of government; the Vaiśyas, to engage themselves in trade and agriculture, and the Śūdras, to perform humble menial tasks. Most of the officials mentioned in the epigraphs must have come from amongst the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas. Manufacture of copper plates and inscribing letters on them as also on stone was most probably done by the artisans. The Mangraon inscription mentions one Kulāditya as engraver of the record and calls him a *sūtradhāra*. The *sūtradhāras* were generally Śūdras. The Nalanda stone inscription refers to one Śīlacandra, the composer of the *praśasti* as a *karaṇika*. The *karaṇikas* probably formed a sub-caste of which the modern Karaṇa-kāyasthas are said to be the descendants. In accordance with the *āśrama* system the *dvijas* were expected to apply themselves to studies in the *brahmacaryāśrama*[1]; enter into matrimony and follow their ancestral occupations, discharging social and religious obligations, in the *gṛhsthāśrama*; free themselves from the obligations of a *gṛhasthin* in the *vānaprasthāśrama*; and finally become completely detached from the world in the *sanyāsāśrama*.

It was considered the duty of a king to ensure that people led their lives in conformity with the *varṇāśrama* system. King Harivarman Maukhari[2], Ādityavarman Maukhari[3] and Prabhākaravardhana Puṣpabhūti[4] have been referred to as constantly employing their royal authority in regulating the *varṇas* and *āśramās*. Some scholars hold that such expressions in the epigraphs

1. The *dvija* boys generally studied in the *gurukulas*, performing also such duties as collecting fire wood, leaves and *kuśa* grass and tending cows (*HC*, CT, 35-36). Some, particularly those following the Buddhist faith, sent their children to monasteries.
2. In the seal inscriptions of the Maukhari rulers.
3. In the Haraha inscription.
4. In all the epigraphs of Harṣa. Harṣa too has been similarly complimented in the *Harṣacarita* (CT, 66).

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indicate that there were some serious social and religious disorders during the reign periods of these rulers.[1] Significantly, in the Jaunpur inscription Īśvaravarman is described as a king who allayed the fears of his subjects caused by 'the approach of cruel people'.[2] It may also be noted that in the Haraha inscription the earth is figuratively referred to as a 'cracked boat' which was saved by Īśānavarman from sinking by means of the ropes (*guṇas*) of his kingly virtues.[3] This might also indicate unsettled conditions in the land. Panegyrics of kings in the inscriptions on their role in enforcing *varṇāśramadharma* apart, we have evidence that the fuuctions and duties assigned to the different *varṇas* in the *śāstras* were not strictly adhered to and there was also some mobility between the *varṇas*. The Puṣpabhūtis were Vaiśyas but being rulers they performed duties assigned to the Kṣatriyas by the *śāstras* and the Puṣpabhūti princess Rājyaśrī was given in marriage to Kṣatriya Grahavarman Maukhari.[4]

The Brāhmaṇas occupied high position in society because of their learning and character. On account of their officiating at sacrifices and rituals performed by rulers and wealthy people, and also because of the *śāstric* injunctions that charity should be extended to them, they received grants, sometimes of whole villages, which were thereafter called *agrahāras*. The grants not only enhanced their economic status but also gave them administrative authority over such villages.

Kings at times relieved the Brāhmaṇas of the expenses to be incurred on the marriage of their daughters and even dowered villages for this purpose.[5] In the grants the names of the donee Brāhmaṇas have been mentioned together with their *gotras*[6] and also the particular Veda in which they specialised. In the Banskhera plate the donees are two Brāhmaṇas of Bhāradvāja *gotra*. One of these, Bhaṭṭa Bālacandra, had Bahvṛc as his *caraṇa* (i.e. was a Ṛgvedī), and the other, Bhaṭṭa Bhadrasvāmī had Chandoga for his *caraṇa* (i.e. was a Sāmavedī). The Madhuban plate too records the grant of a village to two

1. Pires, *op. cit.*, 127.
2. *CII*, III, 230.
3. *EI*, XIV, 119.
4. *Supra*, p. 18. Bāṇa's father, a learned Brāhmaṇa, had a Śūdra wife as well (*HC*, CT, 40) and Bāṇa had friends from different castes and professions (*HC*, CT, 32-33). Hiuen-tsang refers to mixed castes (Watters, I, 168) and also to Śūdra kings (Watters, I, 322). He also records that people engaged in occupations which were considered unclean and disreputable, lived out of the bounds of the city (Watters, I, 147).
5. *Vide* Aphsad inscription, line 9.
6. *Gotras* were probably after the name of the sages from whom different groups of Brāhmaṇas traced their descent. The epigraphs under study do not mention *pravaras* of the Brāhmaṇas though they are quite commonly met with in other contemporary and later land grants.

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Brāhmaṇas – Bhaṭṭa Vātasvāmī and Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvāmī. The former had Chandoga for his *caraṇa* and belonged to Sāvarṇī *gotra*, while the latter had Bahvṛc for his *caraṇa* (i.e. was a Ṛgvedī) and belonged to Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra*. Thus each of the two grants of Harṣa was made to two Brāhmaṇas, and in each case one of the Brāhmaṇas was a Ṛgvedī, and the other a Sāmavedī. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are also significant. We have *Bhaṭṭa* prefixed to the names of Bālacandra, Vātasvāmī and Śivadevasvāmī; and the last two of these as well as Bhadrasvāmī have names ending in *svāmī*. This practice of prefixing *bhaṭṭa* and suffixing *svāmī* (and also *śarman* not met with in the epigraphs under study) to the names of the Brāhmaṇas had become quite common. The prefix (*bhaṭṭa*) was meant to indicate their learning and the suffix (*svāmī*), literally meaning 'lord', their high social status. The Brāhmaṇas as a class were known for their learning and character, but instances of unscrupulous men among them are not wanting. The Madhuban grant refers to a Brāhmaṇa, Vāmarathya by name, who had acquired an *agrahāra* village on the strength of a forged document. King Harṣa confiscated the grant and gave the village to two other deserving Brāhmaṇas.

The only foreign tribe referred to in the epigraph is the Huṇa tribe. It is mentioned in the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena. Damodargupta of the Later Gupta dynasty is said to have defeated the Maukharis who had defeated the Hūṇas.

The Nagarjuni Hill Cave inscription (no. 2) of Anantavarman refers to the grant of a village to goddess Bhavānī. Similarly, the Deo Baranark inscription records the reconfirmation of the grant of village Varuṇavāsin to the Sun god (temple) of which the priest was one *Bhojaka* Durdharamitra(?). The Katra plate refers to the grant of three villages in favour of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā. Naturally in such cases the realisation of revenue from the villages as also its appropriation must have been done by the temple priests.

The donees mentioned in the case of the Nalanda stone inscription were the monks of the Nalanda monastery. Of the inscriptions under study this is the only instance of a grant made in favour of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. There is, however, ample literary and other epigraphic evidence to show that the monastic settlement at Nalanda received grants of several villages from kings.

Most of the epigraphs refer to the grant of *agrahāras*. The Banskhera and Madhuban plates refer to the grant of *agrahāras* to Brāhmaṇas by Harṣa and the Deo Baranark inscription speaks of the granting of *agrahāras* to Brāhmaṇas created by Dāmodaragupta of the Later Gupta dynasty. The *agrahāra* land was given to the grantees on permanent basis. The tenants paid to the grantee all the taxes they had been paying to the State.[1] The Banskhera copper plate refers to the grants of village Somakuṇḍakā to two Brāhmaṇas, Bālacandra

1. For taxes, see chapter 'Polity and Administration', *supra*.

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(a Ṛgvedī) and Bhadrasvāmī (a Sāmavedī), while the Madhuban copper plate mentions the grant of village Somakuṇḍakā to the Brāhmaṇas Bhaṭṭa Vātasvāmī (a Sāmavedī) and Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvāmī (a Ṛgved). Obviously in each case the revenue of the village concerned was to be shared by the donee Brāhmaṇas. The Katra plates specifically mentions that the king transferred to the donee his rights over the water reservoirs, salt and other mines and certain species of trees.[1] This goes to show that the State exercised propreitory rights over these natural resources as well. The grantees, particularly those of large agriculturally rich tracts of land, must have become economically well-to-do. They grew into a class of religious landed intermediaries between the State and the actual tillers of the soil[2] and the villagers became dependent on private owners, particularly so as in some cases the government officials *cāṭās* and *bhaṭas* were prohibited from entering into the donated villages.

A distinction between cultivated and uncultivated land was made in the levying of revenue and the levy on these two naturally differed. The Banskhera and Madhuban plates speak of *bhūmichidra nyāya* in connection with the grant. Under this rule the tenant who for the first time brought untilled and forest land under cultivation paid tax at rates prescribed for uncultivated land. The cultivators and others had to pay a number of taxes which we have discussed above under 'Polity and Administration'.

The Mangraon inscription gives us an inkling of some sort of banking facilities in villages. It records the arrangements made by one Avimuktajja for the supply of one *pala* of oil (daily) by the inhabitants of Aṅgāragrāma for burning the lamp in the temple of god Subhadreśvara 'as long as sun and moon endure'. The obvious inference is that he deposited a sum of money with the village, *pāñcāyata*, with the undertaking that out of the interest accruing from that deposit, one *pala* of oil be supplied by it daily for the burning of the lamp in the Śaiva shrine. The inscription does not specify the sum deposited, but we may presume that it was not very big, as commodities were quite cheap in those days and rates of interest were fairly high.

The epigraphs also refer to the construction of tanks. Queen Koṇadevī, wife of king Ādityasena, is known to have constructed three tanks. Two have been referred to in the Mandara hill inscriptions and one in tne Aphsad inscription. We do not know for certain for what purpose the tanks in question were constructed. They might have been bathing places attached to some

1. Translated the text reads, "The localities were granted as a permanent gift, together with land and water, with the mango and *madhūka* trees, with pits and barren lands, with land up to the boundaries, with all the hamlets, with the metal and salt mines with the *udraṅga* . , with the space above the ground and with all dues payable to the king". (Sircar, *EI*, XXXV, 127).
2. Sharma in *CHB*, 168.

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temples. But they could as well have been constructed either for supplying drinking water or for irrigation. The Aphsad inscription says that the water of the tank mentioned therein was eagerly drunk by the people. But the tank could have served other purposes as well. Though the locality where the tank was excavated is not mentioned in the epigraphs, it was perhaps located in the capital or some other city. In that case, the tank might as well have been constructed for the beautification of the city. The description of the tank in the Aphsad inscription lends credence to this view. Translated, the passage under reference in the epigraph runs: "...full of drifting and glistening spray, resembling in lustre a *śaṅkha* shell, or the moon, or crystal, (and) in the waves of which, driven to and fro by the motion of the alligators the birds disport themselves and the large fishes play about".[1]

The epigraphs also give us an idea of the importance attached to the cultivation of learning during the period under reference.

The study of the Vedas along with their *śākhās* formed an important part of the scheme of Brahmanical studies. Particular families specialised in the study of particular *śākhās*. Different Brāhmaṇical sects had developed their own religious literature. The Mangraon inscription refers to one Avimuktajja who was devoted to his particular school of religious thought. All the epigraphs under study are written in Sanskrit, which of course was the language of the cultured elite.[2]

Nalanda was undoubtedly the most important centre of education and learning during the period covered by the epigraphs under study. The Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarman's reign provides an excellent epigraphic corroboration of Hiuen-tsang's description of the magnificent buildings at Nalanda as also the high academic achievements and character of the scholars residing there. Eulogising the towering *caityas* and *vihāras* of this great centre of learning, the epigraph says that they were highly ornate and their spires 'touched the clouds', and that in its grandeur Nalanda 'mocked at other cities'. The epigraph also makes specific mention of a splendid temple built by Bālāditya at that site.

Kings and princes also devoted themselves to scholarly pursuits and the study of the fine arts. The Nagarjuni inscription (no. 2) refers to Yajñavarman, the Maukhari chief, as foremost of all kings in learning. The Haraha inscription refers to Sūryavarman's proficiency in the finer arts. It has been said that 'Wealth, Fame, Learning and other (Muses) resorted (in him) as if in emulation' and that he was well versed in the *śāstras*.

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1. *CII*, III, 205.
2. The masses, of course would have used Prākṛt and other dialects. Hiuen-tsang informs that Sanskrit spoken in mid-India was of the most chaste type.

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Īśānavarman Maukhari patronised and encouraged Vedic studies. The Haraha inscription, in a panegyrical style of narration, says that during Īśānavarman's reign 'the three Vedas were so to speak born afresh'.[1] In the Aphsad inscription Kṛṣṇagupta, the first Later Gupta ruler is spoken of as attended by men of learning, and Mādhavagupta of the same dynasty, as "natural home of wealth, truth and learning...'.[2]

Some light is also thrown by the epigraphs on the social graces cultivated by royalty. In the Nagarjuni inscription (no. 1), Yajñavarman's gait is compared with the play of a rutting elephant. In the Aphsad inscription, Ādityasena is referred to as "accustomed to laugh in charming manner in the gathering of (his) favourites and servants".[3]

Besides the cultivation of learning and the fine arts, kings and princes took delight in engaging themselves in hunting and other manly sports. The Haraha inscription refers to a hunting expedition of Maukhari prince Sūryavarman. It was during this expedition that he chanced to see a dilapidated Śaiva shrine which he renovated and enlarged.

Among moral virtues, special emphasis was laid on charity (*dāna*) which was considered a matter of religious duty. Granting villages to learned Brāhmaṇas or excavating tanks for the benefit of the people, feeding Brāhmaṇas or monks for burning of lamps in temples, making provision for the marriage of the daughters of Brāhmaṇas and dowering them with the *agrahāras*, and such other pious acts of charity are the main themes of the epigraphs.

The ideal of a religiously devoted wife was cherished. In the Aphsad inscription, the queen of Ādityasena is referred to as 'truthfully constant to (her) lord' and 'performing penance'.[4]

APPENDIX

A Note on Names of the Individuals in the Epigraphs

Naming the child has been a solemn ritual among practically all the people of the world through the ages. Normally, a particular name was given to the child with some purpose in view, and tradition, social rank and religious beliefs were also some of the important factors which determined the choice of a name. A study of the names occurring in the epigraphs would,

1. *EI*, XIV, 119.
2. *CII*, III, 206.
3. *CII*, III, 204.
4. *CII*, III, 207.

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therefore, be interesting as well as informative. At the end of this Appendix we have given a list of these names in alphabetical order together with the status and rank of the persons bearing those names and reference has also been made to the epigraphs wherein they occur. For convenience the serial number of a particular name in the list is given wherever a reference is made to that name in different contexts.

Since most of the epigraphs belong to kings and their officials, they mostly contain the names of royalty and government dignitaries. The names of commoners generally occur only when mention is made of the donee of the grant, or of the composer or engraver of the epigraph.

Quite a large number of names are after deities with difference that a suffix or ending has been added to signify that the person was a gift of, or was favoured or protected by the deity. Such a name was given to a child in the hope and belief that the uttering of the name would bring good fortune and also that the child would come to acquire some of the qualities of the deity.

Among the names, given after deities, quite a few are after Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kārttikeya and Sūrya. Those after Viṣṇu and his different forms are : nos. 4 (Ananta), 13 (Dāmodara), 20 (Hari), 36 (Kṛṣṇa), 41 (Mādhava), 52-53 (Rāma), 70 (Upagupta), 74 (Viṣṇu); those after Śiva : nos. 26 (Īśāna), 27-29 (Īśvara), 60 (Śiva)[1]; those after Kārttikeya : nos. 38 and 39 (Kumāra), 42 and 43 (Mahāsena), 61 (Skanda); and those after Sun : nos. 1, 2 and 3 (Āditya), 12 (Bhānu), 45 (Mihira), 48 (Prabhākara) and 65-66 (Sūrya).[2]

Other deities after whom names have been given are Indra (no. 25), Lakṣmī (no. 40), Wind god (Vāta, no. 73), and Tārā (no. 69). Some of the names are after *deva* (e.g. no. 14, Devadatta; and nos. 15 and 16, Devagupta)—a generic or common term for all deities.

We also come across names after sage (*ṛṣi*, no. 55), sacrifice (*yajña*, no. 75), a bird (*haṁsa*, no. 19), an animal (*śārdūla*, 57), a tree (*sāla*, no. 56), a flower (*kamala*, no. 34), a locality (*Avanti*, no. 6) and caste (Gurjjara, no. 18). Besides, there are certain names after abstract qualities such as Harṣa (nos. 21, 21a, 21b), Jaya (no. 30), Nirmalā (no. 47) and Yaśa (nos. 76, 77).

Some names would indicate that the practice of naming children after ancestors was also in vogue.[3] We have two Rājyavardhanas (no. 51 and 51a)

1. No. 64 (Sūkṣmaśiva) may also be referred to in the context of names after Śiva.
2. In the context of names after Sun we may also refer to *āditya*-ending names (nos. 9 and 37).
3. Ancient texts prescribe that names could also be given after ancestors (e.g. *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, II. 1. 24). The *Mānavya Gṛhyasūtra* (1. 18. 2) prescribes that father's name should be avoided in giving a name to the child.

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in the Puṣpaphūti dynasty, and two Jīvitaguptas in the Later Gupta dynasty (nos. 32-33). While Rājyavardhana II was grandson of Rājyavardhana I, Jīvitagupta II was eighth in descent from Jīvitagupta I.

The name-endings also show interesting variety of forms. Some of these name-endings were perhaps intended to indicate the *varṇa* of the person, as ancient texts prescribe different name-endings for the different *varṇas*.[1]

The names of the Later Gupta rulers (nos. 13, 15, 16; 22, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 41, 42, 53, 74), except that of Ādityasena (no. 1), have *gupta* ending. It is this common name-ending (*gupta*) that led historians to name the dynasty as [Later] Gupta.[2]

There are also two names of ladies ending in *gupta* viz. Harṣaguptā (no. 23) and Mahāsenaguptā (no. 43). These two personages, the former a Maukhari queen and the latter a Puṣpabhūti queen, are taken to be Later Gupta princesses, and are generally identified as sisters of the Later Gupta rulers Harṣagupta (no. 22) and Mahāsenagupta (no. 42), respectively. This would indicate that brothers and sisters could be given identical names, the only difference being in the gender of the name-ending.

In the epigraphs under study, we come across two (nos. 28 and 61) *gupta*-ending names held by persons not belonging to the Later Gupta dynasty. Both these personages were high government officials during the reign of Harṣa.

All the Maukhari rulers have *varman*-ending names (nos. 3, 4, 6, 20, 26, 29, 57, 58, 66, 75). In the epigraphs under review there are three *varman*-ending names held by persons other than the Maukhari rulers. Two of these, Susthitavarman (no. 67) and Yaśovarman (no. 77) were also kings—the former of Kāmarūpa and the latter of Kanauj. The third one (no.46) was a commoner—a scribe.

All the names ending in *vardhana* (nos. 2, 21b, 46, 48, 51, 52), however, are those of kings of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty. All the kings of this dynasty, from Naravardhana (the first ruler) to Rājyavardhana, have this name-ending. The name of the last and the most illustrious of the Puṣpabhūti king is,

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1. For instance, the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (I. 17. 4) and the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyaśeṣasūtra* (I. 11. 4-18, *vide* Kane, *IHQ* XIV, 233-34) lay down that *śarma*, *varma* and *gupta* should be the name-endings for Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, respectively. The latter says that names of Śūdras should end in *bhṛtya* or *dāsa*. According to Manu (II, 32) the name of a Brāhmaṇa should end with a suffix meaning happiness, that of a Kṣatriya with one meaning 'protection', that of a Vaiśya with one suggesting prosperity, and that of a Śūdra with one indicating humility.
2. The dynasty is called 'Later Gupta' as there had been another Gupta (Imperial Gupta) dynasty.

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however, given as 'Harṣa' (no. 21) in all the epigraphs of that ruler, except in the Sonpat seal, where the name given is 'Harṣavardhana' (no. 21 b).

It may also be noted that all the names ending in *devī* (nos. 5, 24, 34, 35, 70, 71) are of queens;[1] all those ending in *svāmī* (nos. 11, 60, 73) are of Brāhmaṇas; and the ones ending in *mitra* (no. 17, 19, 55, 65) are of the *bhojakas* (priests of Sun temples). Some other name-endings that come to our notice in the epigraphs under review are : *sena* (1, 50), *candra* (59), *datta* (14, 68), *deva* (21b), *āditya* (9, 37), *matī* (10), *svāminī* (30), *śānti* (39, 54), *vatī* (40). Quite a few names are, however, without any name-ending (nos. 8, 21, 27, 44, 47).

It may also be noted that the name of the mother of Harṣa is given as Yaśomatī (no. 76) in all the epigraphs of that ruler. In the *Harṣacarita*, however, her name is given as Yaśovatī. This, as observed by Bühler,[2] shows that the ancient Indians were not very meticulous about the spelling of names, so long as the sense remained the same.

List of Names

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Status*	*Reference*
1.	Ādityasena	King (Later Gupta)	Shahpur, Mandar, Aphsad and Deo Baranark Inscriptions.
2.	Ādityavardhana	King (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban plates, and Nalanda seal of Harṣa.
3.	Ādityavarman	King (Maukhari)	Haraha inscription, Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, and Sohnag seal of Avantivarman.
4.	Anantavarman	Ruler (Maukhari)	Barabar, and Nagarjuni inscriptions.
5.	Apsarodevī	Queen (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants and Nalanda seal of Harṣa.
6.	Avantivarman	King (Maukhari)	Nalanda and Sohnag seals of Avantivarman, and Nalanda seal of Su-.
7.	Avimuktajja	Śaiva devotee	Mangraon inscription.
8.	Bālacandra[3]	Brāhmaṇa donee	Banskhera grant of Harṣa.
9.	Bālāditya	King (Imperial Gupta)	Deo Baranark and Nalanda stone inscriptions.

1. In fact, except two names, viz. Bandhumatī (no. 10) and Nirmalā (no. 47), respectively sister and mother of the donor Mālada, all female names are those of queens.
2. Bühler, *EI*, I, 70.
3. Referred to as Bhaṭṭa Bālacandra.

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10. Bandhumatī	Lady (mother of donor)	Nalanda stone inscription.
11. Bhadraswāmī	Brāhmaṇa donee	Banskhera grant of Harṣa.
12. Bhāna (Bhānu)	Official	Banskhera grant of Harṣa.
13. Dāmodaragupta	King (Later Gupta)	Aphsad inscription.
14. Devadatta	Composer of epigraph	Mangraon inscription.
15. Devagupta	King (Later Gupta ?)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants.
16. Devagupta	King (Later Gupta)	Deo Baranark inscription.
17. Durdharamitra(?)	*Bhojaka*[1]	Deo Baranark inscription.
18. Gurjjara	Engraver of record	Madhuban grant.
19. Haṁsamitra	*Bhojaka*	Deo Baranark inscription.
20. Harivarman alias Jvālāmukha	King (Maukhari)	Haraha inscription, Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvarvarman, and Sohnag seal of Avantivarman.
21. Harṣa	King (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants, and Nalanda seals of Harṣa.
21a. Harṣadeva	King (Puṣpabhūti ?)	Aphsad inscription.
21b. Harṣavardhana	King (Puṣpabhūti)	Sonpat seal of Harṣa.
22. Harṣagupta	King (Later Gupta)	Aphsad inscription.
23. Harṣaguptā	Queen (Maukhari)	Nalanda and Asirgadh seals fo Śarvavarman.
24. Ijjādevī	Queen (Later Gupta)	Deo Baranark inscription.
25. Indrabhaṭṭārikādevī	Queen (Maukhari)	Nalanda and Sohnag seals fo Avantivarman.
26. Īśānavarman	King (Maukhari)	Haraha inscription, Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, and Sohnag seal of Avantivarman.
27. Īśvara	Engraver of record	Banskhera grant of Harṣa.
28. Īśvaragupta	Official	Madhuban grant of Harṣa.
29. Īśvaravarman	King (Maukhari)	Jaunpur and Haraha inscription, Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman and Nalanda and Sohnag seals of Avantivarman.
30. Jayasvāminī	Queen (Maukhari)	Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, and Nalanda and Sohnag seals of Avantivarman.
31. Jīvagupta	King (Later Gupta)	Katra inscription.
32. Jīvitagupta I	King (Later Gupta)	Aphsad inscription.
33. Jīvitagupta II	King (Later Gupta)	Deo Baranark inscription.

1. i. e. priest of a Sun temple.

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34. Kamaladevī	Queen (Later Gupta)	Deo Baranark inscription.
35. Koṇadevī	Queen (Later Gupta)	Mandar, Aphsad and Deo Baranark inscriptions.
36. Kṛṣṇagupta	King (Later Gupta)	Aphsad inscription.
37. Kulāditya	Engraver of record	Mangraon inscription.
38. Kumāragupta	King (Later Gupta)	Aphsad inscription.
39. Kumāraśānti	Father of the composer of record	Haraha inscription.
40. Laksmīvatī	Queen (Maukhari)	Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, and Nalanda and Sohnag seals of Avantivarman, Nalanda seal of Su-.
41. Mādhavagupta	King (Later Gupta)	Aphsad and Deo Baranark inscriptions.
42. Mahāsenagupta	King (Later Gupta)	Aphsad inscription.
43. Mahāsenaguptā	Queen (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants and Nalanda seal of Harṣa.
44. Mālada	Son of an official	Nalanda stone inscription.
45. Mihiravarman	Engraver of record	Haraha inscription.
46. Naravardhana	King (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants and Nalanda seal inscription of Harṣa.
47. Nirmalā	Lady (Sister of doner)	Nalanda stone inscription.
48. Prabhākaravardhana	King (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants, and Nalanda seal of Harṣa.
49. Poyarāja	Official	Kaulesvari inscription.
50. Pūrneṇdrasena	Monk	Nalanda stone inscription.
51. Rājyavardhana(I)	King (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants and Nalanda seal of Harṣa.
52. Rājyavardhana(II)	-do-	-do-
53. Rāmagupta	King (Later Gupta)	Katra plate.
54. Raviśānti	Composer of record	Haraha inscription.
55. Ṛsimitra	*Bhojaka*	Deo Baranark inscription.
56. Sālapakṣa	*Balādhyakṣa*	Shahpur inscription.
57. Śārdūlavarman	Ruler (Maukhari)	Nagarjuni and Barabar inscriptions.
58. Śarvarvarman	King (Maukhari)	Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, Nalanda and Sohnag seals of Avantivarman, and Nalanda seal of Su-.
59. Śīlacandra	Scribe	Nalanda stone inscription.

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60. Śivadevasvāmī[1]	Brāhmaṇa donee	Madhuban grant.
61. Skandagupta	Official	Banskhera and Madhuban grants.
62. Śrīmatī	Queen (Later Gupta)	Aphsad and Deo Baranark inscriptions.
63. Su-	King (Maukhari)	Nalanda seal of Su-.
64. Sūkṣmaśiva	Composer of *praśasti*	Aphsad inscription.
65. Sūryamitra	*Bhojaka*	Deo Baranark inscription.
66. Sūryavarman	Prince (Maukhari)	Haraha inscription.
67. Susthitavarman	King of Kāmarūpa	Aphsad inscription.
68. Svāmidatta	Ścribe	Nalanda stone inscriptions.
69. Tārā	Queen (Later Gupta)	Katra plate.
70. Upaguptādevī	Queen (Maukhari)	Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, Nalanda seal and Sohang seals of Avantivarman, and Nalanda seal of Su-.
71. Vajriṇīdevī	Queen (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants and Nalanda seal of Harṣa.
72. Vāmarathya	Brāhmaṇa	Madhuban grant.
73. Vātasvāmī[2]	Brāhmaṇa donee	Madhuban grant.
74. Viṣṇugupta	King (Later Gupta)	Deo Baranark inscription.
75. Yajñavarman	Ruler (Maukhari)	Nagarjuni and Barabar inscriptions.
76. Yaśomatī	Queen (Puṣpabhūti)	Banskhera and Madhuban grants, Nalanda and Sonpat seals of Harṣa.
77. Yaśovarman	King of Kanauj	Nalanda stone inscription.

1. Referred to as Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvāmī.
2. Referred to as Bhaṭṭa Vātasvāmī.

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V

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The material for reconstructing the religious conditions is rather meagre in the epigraphs under study. Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism were the two most important religions of the times. Most of the epigraphs are connected with acts of piety relating to Brāhmaṇical religion and only one—the Nalanda stone inscription is Buddhistic in nature. None of the epigraphs incorporated in this volume pertains to Jain religion.

Quite a good number of the epigraphs under study make mention of the performance of Vedic rituals which was considered as a part of kingly duties. There is, however, no reference to the worship of the main Vedic gods—Indra, Mitra, Agni and Varuṇa, or to the sculpturing of images of these deities, or to the building of temples dedicated to them. It would appear that by this time these deities had been relegated to the background and their place had been taken by Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Devī and other deities. It was 'neo-Brāhmaṇism sturdy and vigorous in action, robust and virile in imagination, fertile in creation and comprehensively ethnic in origin'[1] which had by now established itself as the popular religion of the people. Image worship had become immensely popular with followers of the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist faiths. The concept of *avatāras* or god incarnating Himself, had also taken hold on the people's mind.

The Maukharis, both of Gaya and Kanauj, the Later Guptas and the Puṣpabhūtis (with the exception of Rājyavardhana II, who was a Buddhist) were all adherents of the Brāhmaṇical faith.[2] Nothing can be known about the religious leanings of Yaśovarman from the Nalanda epigraph of his reign.

As stated earlier, the kings professing the Brāhmaṇical faith still performed Vedic rituals and sacrifices. Anantavarman Maukhari is stated to have performed several sacrifices[3] in which Indra was constantly invited to come to

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1. Ray in *HCIP*, III, 536.
2. The *Harṣacarita* indicates that Grahavarman Maukhari had Buddhist affiliations, and Harṣa too became inclined towards Buddhism in the later part of his reign.
3. Nagarjuni Ins. (no. 2).

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earth and accept oblations offered by the Maukhari ruler.[1] An epigraph also refers to such rituals and sacrifices performed by Ādityavarman Maukhari.[2] In a later epigraph, Ādityasena, the Later Gupta ruler, is credited with the performance of three *aśvamedha* sacrifices.[3]

In the case of some rulers we are merely told that they were religious-minded,[4] but as for some others, specific mention of the deities worshipped by them has been made. The Maukhari chief Anantavarman extended his patronage to Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva[5] and Śākta[6] sects. He installed an image of Kṛṣṇa in a cave temple.[7] Obviously the concept of incarnations of Viṣṇu was by that time fully established, and images of the *avatāras* were being installed. The Later Gupta ruler Ādityasena, who is referred to as *paramabhāgavata* (i.e. most devout Vaiṣṇava), had a temple built for Viṣṇu.[8]

Anantavarman Maukhari got an image of Bhūtapati (Śiva) and Devī (Pārvatī) made and installed in a cave.[9] This was most probably a syncretic icon in the form of *Arddhanārīśvara*—one half of the body being that of Śiva and another half of Pārvatī. The same chief is also known to have installed an image of the goddess under the names Kātyāyanī and Bhavānī in a cave[10] and endowed the holy place with the grant of a village. Incidentally, the goddess is described as placing her foot on the head of Mahiṣāsura.[11] This obviously refers to her Mahiṣāsuramardinī form, which had become a popular theme for iconic representation of the goddess. King Jīvagupta donated three villages to the temple of goddess Cāmuṇḍa.[12] Kātyāyanī, Bhavānī and Cāmuṇḍā are obviously three different names and forms of one and the same goddess.

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1. Nagarjuni inscription (no. 2).
2. The Haraha inscription.
3. The Vaidyanath Temple Inscription. The epigraph itself, however, belongs to 16th century A.D.
4. E.g. in the Aphsad inscription king Mādhavagupta is referred to as a 'firm bridge of religion'. It is also not known for which religious sect, Mahādevī śrīmatī, mother of king Ādityasena, got the religious college built (*ibid.*).
5. Infra.
6. Infra.
7. *Vide* Barabar inscription.
8. *Vide* Aphsad inscription. In this epigraph God Dāmodara (Viṣṇu) is described as one whose feet are graced by the attention of Lakṣmī.
9. *Vide* Nagarjuni inscription (no. 1).
10. *Vide* Nagarjuni inscription (no. 2).
11. *Ibid.*, line 1.
12. *Vide* Katra copper-plate inscription.

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The Haraha inscription begins with a prayer (*stuti*) of Śiva. The God has been invoked as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. It may be noted that the three cosmic functions are assigned to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively in Brāhmaṇical theology. Obviously to the devout Śaivas, Śiva is the deity *par excellence* in whom all the three functions are combined. Śarvarvarman and Avantivarman, the two Maukhari rulers of Kanauj, have been referred to as *paramamāheśvaras* (i.e. most devout worshippers of Śiva) in their respective seals.[1] The device on the Maukhari seals is typically Śaivite—Nandī (Śiva's *vāhana*) with the *gaṇas*.

If the identification of *Mahārāja* Śarvavarman of the Nirmand copper plate[2] with Śarvavarman Maukhari is accepted then it is this Maukhari ruler who installed the image of Kapāleśvara (i.e. Śiva). Prince Sūryavarman, a brother of a Śarvavarman, renovated a dilapidated temple of Siva (referred to as slayer of Andhaka), and renamed it as Kṣemeśvara.[3] Harṣa, the greatest of the Puṣpabhūti kings, has been given the epithet *paramamāheśvara* (i.e. a Śaiva) in all his inscriptions.

The name of the composer (or engraver) of the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena has been given as Sūkṣmaśiva, which may be taken to indicate that he was a Śaiva. It has even been suggested that he belonged to the Mattamayūra sect of Śaivism, as it was a common practice with the ascetics of this sect to have names ending in Śiva or Śambhu.[4] During the reign of the Later Gupta ruler Viṣṇugupta, a Śaiva scholar, Avimuktajja by name, made a perpetual endowment for burning the lamp in the Śaiva shrine of Subhadreśvara.[5] King Rāmagupta and his son, king Jīvagupta, have been designated as *paramamāheśvaras* in an epigraph.[6]

Rājyavardhana (I) of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty, his son Ādityavardhana, and the latter's son Prabhākaravardhana have all been referred to as worshippers of Sun (*paramāditya bhaktas*).[7]

The Shahpur image inscription records the installation of an image of a god but does not mention the name of the deity whose image it was. Obviously, it was the icon of Sun, for it is on its pedestal that the epigraph has been engraved.[8] The Deo Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II refers to the confirmation of the grant of the village Vāruṇikā to Sun (temple) of Varuṇa-

1. The Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman and the Sohnag seal of Avantivarman.
2. The record itself belongs to seventh century A.D. See *Supra*.
3. *Vide* Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman.
4. See B.P. Majumdar, in *CHB*., pp. 416-17.
5. *Vide* Mangraon inscription.
6. *Vide* Katra plate.
7. *Vide* the two grants and seals of Harṣa.
8. *CII*, III, 209.

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vāsī. The village had originally been granted in favour of the deity through the agency of *Bhojaka* (temple priest) Sūryamitra during the reign of king Bālāditya (of the Imperial Gupta dynasty). This grant to the temple was confirmed during the reigns of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman Maukharis. It was granted to *Bhojaka* Haṁsamitra during the rule of Śarvavarman and to *Bhojaka* Ṛṣimitra during the rule of Avantivarman.[1] The grant of the said village to Sun god was reconfirmed by the Later Gupta ruler Jīvitagupta II through the agency of *Bhojaka* Durdharamitra[2](?). The bhojakas were 'supposed to be decended from the Magas by intermarriage with women of Bhoja race'.[3] It is well known that the migration of the Śakadvīpī Brāhmaṇas in Magadha during the early centuries of the Christian era gave great impetus to the popularity of the Sun cult there. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[4] specifically states that the presiding priest of a Sun temple should be a Maga. Epigraphic evidence clearly indicates that the priesthood of the Sun temple Varuṇavāsin was in the hands of the *bhojakas* from as far back as the time of Bālāditya (first half of the 6th century A.D.), if not earlier, to the time of Jīvitagupta II (first half of the eighth century A.D). It is also interesting to note that the names of all the *bhojakas* end in *mitra* which is one of the names of Sūrya. The name Sūryamitra would seem specially apt for a devotee of Sun. The nomenclature Varuṇavāsin for Sun in this epigraph is interesting. Apparently, the name connotes god Varuṇa rather than Sun. But as pointed out by Fleet, the name seems to preserve the ancient belief that Varuṇa (lit. that which envelopes) meant sky, before it came to be applied to the Ocean god.[5]

Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Sākta and Saura cults, though developed on Purāṇic concepts, yet retained their links with Vedic rituals. Buddhism, however, had no such links with the Vedic religion. Of all the rulers of the four different dynasties under study, Rājyavardhana II alone has been mentioned as being a follower of Buddhism (*paramasaugata*). However, a few other rulers, though professing Hinduism, also extended patronage to Buddhism. The find of the seals of Maukhari rulers (Śarvavarman, Avantivarman and Su-), and of Harṣa at Nalanda—the great centre of Buddhist learning and religion—would indicate that these rulers made grants to that institution. There is evidence to show that Grahavarman Maukhari and his queen Rājyaśrī had deep interest in

1. *Vide* Deo Baranark inscription.
2. *Vide ibid.* The reading of the name of the *bhojaka* is doubtful as pointed out by Fleet. The mere fact that these kings made grants to Sun god does not lead to the inference that the kings were exclusive worshippers of Sun, particularly in view of the fact that the Sohnag terracotta seal specifically refers to Avantivarman as *paramamāheśvara* (i.e. Śaiva).
3. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary, sv. Bhojaka.*
4. *BS,* 60. 19.
5. Fleet, *CII,* III, 214.

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Buddhism.[1] The Nalanda inscription of Yaśovarman refers to the donations of Mālada, son of Yaśovarman's minister, to the great *saṁgha* at Nalanda. This epigraph begins with an invocation to the Buddha in which the two aspects of the Lord have been emphasized—his determination to emancipate people from worldy bonds, and his supreme compassion (as a Bodhisattva) in giving away even his own body to the supplicant.

The epigraphs throw light on the interesting fact of different members of the royal family following different faiths and cults. Thus king Prabhākaravardhana,[2] like his two predecessors Rājyavardhana I and Ādityavardhana was a devotee of sun (*paramādityabhakta*) while his elder son, Rājyavardhana II, was a Buddhist (*paramasaugata*), and the younger son, Harṣa a devotee of Śiva (*paramāmāheśvara*) as is clear from the latter's epigraphs. It must have been an interesting sight to witness ceremonies and rituals pertaining to the three different faiths being performed in the royal palace by and on behalf of the King and the two royal princes. Eclecticism marked the religious life of the day. Harṣa had reverence for Buddhism as well as for the Brāhmaṇical sects, as is clear from Hiuen-tsang's account of his Prayāga Assembly.[3] The Aphsad inscription gives the epithet *paramabhāgavata* ('most devout Vaiṣṇava') to Ādityasena, while all his successors have been referred to as *paramamāheśvaras* in the Deo Baranark inscription. As seen above, we have instances of different kings of the Later Gupta dynasty installing images of deities of different sects.

There are references in some inscriptions under study to mythylogical stories and beliefs that were current among the people. The Aphsad inscription alludes to the famons episode of churning of milk ocean by the gods and demons with Mandāra mountain as the churning stick with a view to recover nectar and other precious things. According to the legend, it was during the process of churning that Lakṣmī and the other thirteen *ratnas* were obtained. People also believed in the theory of rebirth and also of heaven and hell. It is mentioned that one who donates land would be happy in heaven for sixty thousand years, while those who confiscate the land would be born as worms in excreta.[4]

The statement in the Aphsad inscription that Dāmodaragupta, after falling unconscious (dead) on the battlefield, was aroused by the *suravadhūs*, is based on the popular belief that a hero who dies fighting in the battle finds a place in heaven where he gets all the good thing of life a mortal can wish for, and is always in the company of beautiful heavenly damsels.

1. See Appendix 'Harṣa's Religion', *supra*.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Vide* Katra copper-plate inscription.

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There were many other such beliefs held by the people. They believed in the concept of four *yugas* and held that Kaliyuga stands for the forces of darkness and is hence full of sin and evil.[1] They also believed in the mythological story that when there was *pralaya* (the great deluge) Manu was able to hold his boat above the waters.[2] In the Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, there is reference to sin, impurity and other blemishes washed away by the waters of a particular river.[3]

The allusion in the Nalanda stone inscription to the giving away by the Buddha (in his previous life) of his own body to the supplicant out of compassion for him, shows that the *Jātaka* stories had come into common vogue.

Quite interesting is the reference in an epigraph to the exploits of an Epic hero. The Aphsad inscription refers to Hanumān's taking off a big leap from the mountain Kośavardhana.[4]

In the epigraphs there are references to pilgrimages to holy shrines and penances and mortification of human flesh. Pilgrimage was an important feature of religious life in ancient India and was quite popular among all classes. The Mangraon inscription refers to one Avimuktajja, a Śaiva devotee who is said to have purified his body by visiting many Śaiva *pīṭhas*. The Nalanda stone inscriptions record the visit of one Mālada to Nalanda, the centre of Buddhist religion and learning, where he made donations to the Buddhist monks. The Later Gupta ruler Kumāragupta is reported to have gone to Prayāga and ended his life there by plunging himself into a cow-dung fire (Aphsad ins., line 8). Obviously he did this because such an act must have been considered as of great religious merit.[5] Some other later rulers of ancient India (e.g. Candella Dhaṅga and Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva) are also known to have voluntarily ended their lives in a similar fashion with a view to attain religious merit.[6]

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1. *Vide* Haraha inscription.
2. *Ibid.*
3. The river is referred to as Mahānadī. It was either the present-day river of that name or, what seems more likely, river Phalgu which flows near Nagarjuni hill. The present day Mahānadī does not come anywhere nearer than two hundred miles from Nagarjuni hills.
4. Interestingly, three leaps of Hanumān have been referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other texts but in none does the reference to Kośavardhana occur (*CII*, III, 205, n. 2).
5. For different views, see *supra*.
6. K. Chattopadhyaya, *JUPHS*, X, 65 f.

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APPENDIX

List of Names of Deities or Semi Divinities Mentioned in the Epigraphs

1. Śiva-(i) (Bhūtapati (Nagarjuni inscription no. 2, line 4).
   (ii) Tripurāntaka (Haraha inscription, line 1).
   (iii) Andhakavidviṣa (Haraha inscription, lines 2-3).
   (iv) Kṣemeśvara (Haraha inscription, line 20).
   (v) Andhakabhida (Haraha inscription, line 20).
   (vi) Śūlapāṇi (Haraha inscription, line 22).
   (vii) Maheśvara (Banskhera and Madhuban grants, and Nalanda and Sonpat seals of Harṣa).
   (viii) Hara (Aphsad inscription, lines 6, 26).
   (ix) Subhadreśvara (Mangraon inscription line 7).

2. Viṣṇu-(i) Kṛṣṇa (Barabar inscription, line 2).
   (ii) Viṣṇu (Aphsad inscription, line 24).
   (iii) Mādhava (Aphsad inscription, line 12).
   (iv) Dāmodara (Aphsad inscription, line 8).
   (v) Śārṅgin (Aphsad inscription, line 26).
   (vi) Cakradhara (Seal inscriptions of the Maukhari kings).

3. Sūrya-(i) Sūrya (Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, line 8; Haraha inscription, line 10).
   (ii) Arkka (Haraha inscription, line 14).
   (iii) Varuṇavāsin (Deo Baranark inscription, lines 12, 13).
   (iv) Bhāsvat (Nalanda stone inscription, line 18).
   (v) Ekacakraratha (in all epigraphs of Harṣa).
   (vi) Āditya (*ibid*).

4. Candra-(i) Candra (Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, line 8; and Nalanda stone inscription, line 17).
   (ii) Śaśāṅka (Aphsad inscription).

5. Indra-(i) Sahasranetra (Nagarjuni inscription no. 1, line 2).
   (ii) Vṛtradviṣa (Haraha inscription, line 8).
   (iii) Indra (Madhuban plate, line 5; Banskhera plate, line 4).

6. Brahmā-(i) Vedhasa (Haraha inscription, line 1).
   (ii) Brahmā (Aphsad inscription, line 26).

7. Kārttikeya-Śikhivāhana (Aphsad inscription, line 6).

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8. Kāmadeva-(i) Smara (Barabar inscription, line 4).
   (ii) Manmatha (Haraha inscription, line 19).

9. Buddha-(i) Sugata (Banskhera plate, line 5; Madhuban plate, line 6; Nalanda seal, lines 8-9).
   (ii) Buddha (Nalanda stone inscription, lines 2, 12).
   (iii) Śauddhodana (Nalanda stone inscription, line 9).
   (iv) Jina (Nalanda stone inscription, line 19).
   (v) Śāstā (*ibid.*, line 20).
   (vi) Śākyamuni (*ibid.*, line 15).

10. Pārvatī-(i) Devī (Nagarjuni inscription no. 1, line 4).
   (ii) Kātyāyanī (Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, line 8).
   (iii) Bhavānī (Nagarjuni inscription, no. 2, line 10).
   (iv) Cāmuṇḍā (Katra plate, line 14).

11. Sarasvatī-(Haraha inscription, line 17; Aphsad inscription, line 13).

12. Lakṣmī-(Haraha inscription, lines 17, 18; Aphsad inscription, line 23).

13. Indrāṇī-Paulomī (Nargarjuni inscription, no. 1, line 2).

Besides, the epigraphs also mention Dhanada (i.e. Kubera, Banskhera plate, line 4; Madhuban plate, line 5), Varuṇa (Banskhera plate, line 4; Madhuban plate, line 5), the Vidyādharas (Aphsad inscription, line 1), Siddhas (*ibid.*, 11), Hanumat (referred to as 'Pavanaja' in Aphsad inscription, line 5) and Śeṣa (Aphsad inscription, line 27).

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SECTION TWO

TEXTS OF INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR ABSTRACTS

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I

Inscriptions of the Maukharis

A. THE MAUKHARIS OF GAYA REGION

1. BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN

[PLATE I]

Provenance : Barabar Hill, Gaya District, Bihar.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, no. 48, 221f, plate XXXB. For other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*; Bhandarkar's list no. 1603.

Language : Sanskrit. In verse, except the opening symbol representing *Siddham*.

Metre : Verse 1 : *Sragdharā*; Verses 2-3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* first half of the sixth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*]

भूपानां [°*] मौखरीणां कुलमतनुगुणो [ऽ*] लंचकारात्मजात्या ।[3]
श्रीशार्दूलस्य यो [ऽ*] भूज्जनहृदयहरो [ऽ*] **नन्तवर्म्मा** सुपुत्रः [।*]

२. कृष्णस्याकृष्णकीर्त्तिः प्रवरगिरिगुहासंश्रितं विंव (विम्व) मेतत्
मूर्त्तं[4]लोके यश [:*] स्वं रचितमिव मुदाचीकरत्कांति (कान्ति) मत्सः ।। [१।।*]

३. कालः शत्रुमहीभुजां प्रणयिनां इच्छाफलः पादपो ।[5]
दीपः क्षत्रकुलस्य नैकसमरव्यापारशोभावतः [।*]

४. कान्ताचित्तहरः स्मरप्रतिसमः पाता व (ब) भूव क्षितेः
श्रीशार्दूल इति प्रतिष्ठित यश [:*] सामन्तचूडामणिः ।। [२।।*]

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1. From plate in *CII*, III.
2. Expressed by a symbol which stands in the margin opposite the commencement of line 3.
3. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
4. The engraver first engraved *rtti*, and then partially cancelled the serif *i*.
5. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

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५. उत्पक्ष्मान्तविलोहितोरुतरलस्पष्टेष्टतारां रुषा ।[1]
श्रीशार्दूलनृपः करोति विषमां यत्र स्वदृष्टिं रिपो(पौ) ।

६. तत्त्राकर्ण्यविकृष्टशार्ङ्गशरधिव्यस्तश्शरोत्ता(न्ता)वहः
तत्पुत्त्रस्य पतत्यनन्तसुखदस्यानन्तवर्म्मश्रुतेः।। [३।।*]

ABSTRACT

This inscription of **Anantavarman**,[2] recording the installation of an image of Kṛṣṇa in the cave of Pravaragiri,[3] refers to him as a scion of the noble Maukhari family, virtuous and winner of people's hearts. Mention is made of his having successfully fought against the enemies of his father Śārdūla (varman), who is referred to as a *sāmanta*, handsome of features, possessor of martial qualities and as one who bestowed lavish gifts on his favourites.[4]

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1. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
2. A. Cunningham (*ASI*, I, 87) holds that the six lines of the present inscription actually are made up of two different inscriptions; the upper one, of two lines, being somewhat later in date to the one of the following four lines, which are in rather longer characters. But Fleet's view that all the six lines are of one and the same inscription, and the difference in the size of letters is due to consideration of space (*CII*, 222, n. 1), seems to be more acceptable.
3. Pravaragiri (literally, 'foremost hill') should be taken as a proper name rather than an adjective (cf. Pravarapura of Chammak grant of Pravarasena, *CII*, III, no. 55). It should be taken as the ancient name of the Barabar Hills where the cave bearing the above inscription is located (*CII*, III, 221-22). The cave is presently known as Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave, and was originally excavated during the time of Aśoka Maurya.
4. According to Fleet, the manner in which Śārdūla(varman), father of Anantavarman, has been mentioned in line 5 of the inscription, suggests that the epigraph was engraved when he was still alive (*CII*, III, 222).

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2. NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN (No. 1)

[PLATE II]

Provenance : Nagarjuni Hill, Gaya District, Bihar.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 223f, plate XXXI A; Kielhorn, *IA*, XX, 189f.; for other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*, and Bhandarkar's list no. 1604.

Language : Sanskrit. In verse, except the opening symbol for *Siddham*.

Metres : Verses 1 and 2 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* Verse 3 : *Sragdharā*; Verse 4 : *Mandākrāntā*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* first half of the sixth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*]
आसीत्सर्व्वमहीक्षिता (तां) मनुरिव[3] क्षत्त्रस्थितेर्द्दैशिकः
श्रीमन्मत्तगजेन्द्रखेलगमनः श्रीयज्ञवर्म्मा नृपः [।*]

२. यस्याहूतसहस्रनेत्त्रविरहक्षामा सदैवाध्वरैः
पौलोमी चिरमश्रुपातमलिनां धा (ध) त्ते कपोलश्रियं (यम्) ।।[१*]

३. श्रीशार्दूलनृपात्मजः परहितः श्रीपौरुषः श्रूयते ।[4]
लोके चन्द्रमरीचिनिर्म्मलगुणो यो [ऽ*] नन्तवर्म्माभिधाः (धः) [।]

४. दृष्टादृष्टविभूति कर्त्तृ वरदं तेनाद्भुतं कारितं ।[5]
विम्वं भूतपतेर्गुहाश्रितमिदं देव्याश्च पायाज्जगत् ।।[२।।*]

५. अन्सा (अंसा) न्ताकृष्टशार्ङ्ग प्रविततसशरज्यास्फुरन्मण्डलान्त[6]
व्यक्तभ्रूभङ्गलक्ष्मव्यतिकरशवलाखण्डवक्त्रेन्दुविम्व [:*]।

---

1. From plate in *CII*, III.
2. Expressed by a symbol at the commencement of line 3.
3. Fleet : महीक्षितामनुरिव. But most probably the reference is to Manu and not to Anu. See also Kielhorn in *IA* XX.

4 and 5. The marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

6. Fleet puts a *daṇḍa* here but the plate does not show it.

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६. अन्ता**यानन्तवर्म्मा** स्मरसदृशवपुर्ज्जीविते नि[:*]स्पृहाभि:[1]
दृष्ट[:]स्थित्वा मृगीभि: सुचिरमनिमिषस्निग्धमुग्धेक्षणाभि: ।।[३।।*]

७. अत्याकृष्टात्कुररविरुतस्पर्द्धिन: शार्ङ्गयन्त्रा-[2]
द्वे[3]गाविद्ध: प्रविततगुणादीरित: सौष्ठवेन ।

८. दूर[4]प्रापी विपथितगजोद्भ्रान्तवाजी प्रवीरो[5]
वाणो[ऽ*]रिस्त्रीव्यसनपदवीदेशिको[ऽ*]**नन्त**नाम्ना: (म्न:)[6] ।।[४।।*]

ABSTRACT

The inscription refers to three rulers—Yajñavarman, his son Śārdūla (varman) and the latter's son **Anantavarman**. Yajñavarman is eulogised as an ideal Kṣatriya, a ruler of charming personality, performer of numerous sacrifices, and is compared to Manu[7]. Śārdūla(varman) gets only a passing mention[8]. **Anantavarman** is extolled for his handsome features, manliness, wealth, benevolence and other virtues. He is also praised as skillful archer who vanquished enemies by routing their cavalry and elephant corps.

The inscription was meant to record **Anantavarman's** act of piety in getting an excellent image of Bhūtapati (Śiva) and Devī (Pārvatī) made and installed in the cave.[9]

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1. We have followed Fleet. The plate, however, does not show the sign for *visarga*.
2. Fleet puts a *daṇḍa* here and remarks that the mark of punctuation is unnecessary. But the plate does not show the mark of punctuation.
3. On plate *e mātrā* in द्वे is not clear. We have followed Fleet.
4. Fleet writes : "this *akṣara* is partly mixed up with the *e* of *de* in *videśavasu*, which was subsequently engraved below this inscription, but has no connection with it". The plate, however, shows only the upper half of the letter द and it is not mixed up with दू of दूर.
5. Fleet refers to a redundants *daṇḍa* after रो, but the plate does not show it.
6. Fleet remarks : "This *visarga* was at first omitted, and then was inserted partially on the first stroke of the following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from *nāmnā* to *nāmnaḥ*".
7. Or with Anu according to the unamended text.
8. Cf. the Barabar inscription (*infra.*) wherein Śārdūlavarman has been highly extolled.
9. Fleet suggests that the image was that of Ardhanārīśvara, one half representing Śiva, and other, Devī (*CII*, III, 224).

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3. NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN (No. 2)

[PLATE III]

Provenance : Nagarjuni Hill, Gaya District, Bihar.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 226-28, plate XXXI B. For other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*, and Bhandarkar's list no. 1605.

Language : Sanskrit. Except the opening symbol for *Siddham*, the inscription is throughout in verse.

Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, throughout.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* first half of the 6th century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*]
उन्निद्रस्य सरोरुहस्य सकलामाक्षिप्य शोभां रुचा ।[3]
सावज्ञं महिषासुरस्य शिरसिन्यस्तः क्वणन्नूपुरः [।*][4]

२. देव्या वः स्थिरभक्तिवादसदृशीं युञ्जन्फलेनार्थितां ।[5]
दिश्यादच्छनखाङ्शु (खांशु) जालजटिलः पादः पदं संपदाम् ।।[१।।*]

३. आसीदिष्टसमृद्धयज्ञमहिमा श्रीयज्ञवर्म्मा नृपः ।[6]
प्रख्याता (तो) विमलेन्दुनिर्म्मलयशा[:*]क्षात्त्रस्य धाम्नः पदं (दम्) ।

४. प्रज्ञानान्वयदानविक्रमगुणैर्यो राजकस्याग्रणी[:*] ।[7]
भूत्वापि प्रकृतिस्थ एव विनयादक्षोभ्यसत्[त्*]वोदधि[:*] ।।[२।।*]

५. तस्योदीर्णमहार्णवोपमरणव्यापारलब्धं (ब्धं) यशः[8]
तन्वानः ककुदं मुखेषु ककुभां कीर्त[त्*]यं जितेदं युगः [।*]

---

1. From plate in *CII*, III.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
4. Fleet puts the *daṇḍa* without bracket. The plate however, does not show it.
5. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
6 and 7. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
8. Fleet puts here *daṇḍa* within square bracket which is uncalled for.

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६. श्रीमान्व(न्ब)न्धुसुहृज्जनप्रणयिनामाशाः फलैः पूरयन् ।[1]
पुत्त्रः कल्पतरोरिवाप्तमहिमां(मा)शार्दूलवर्म्मा नृपः ।।[३।।*]

७. तस्यानन्तमनन्त कीर्त्ति यशशो[ऽ*]नन्तादिवर्म्माख्यया ।[2]
ख्यातेनाहितभक्तिभावितधिया पुत्त्रेण पूतात्मना [।*]

८. आसूर्यक्षितिचन्द्रतारकमियं पुण्यास्पदं वाञ्च्छ(ञ्छ)ता ।[3]
विन्यस्ताङ्घ्रितविन्ध्यभूधरगुहामाश्रित्य कात्यायनी ।।[४।।*]

९. धौताङ्हो(तां हो)षममलैर्महानदैरम्बु(म्बु)भिः ।[4]
व्याधूतोपवनप्रियङ्गुबकुलैरामोदितं वायुभि[:] ।

१०. कल्पान्तावधिभोग्यमुच्चशिखरिच्छायावृत्ताक्कर्द्युतिं ।[5]
[– –]ग्राममनल्पभोगविभवं रम्यं भवान्यै ददौ ।। [५।।*]

ABSTRACT

The text of the inscription begins with *siddham* symbol and the first two lines are an invocation prayer to Devī. Thereafter, Yajñavarman, grandfather of **Anantavarman** is eulogised as a ruler of spotless fame, wise and learned, yet modest and quiet and one who performed many sacrifices. Further on, **Anantavarman's** father, Śārdūlavarman, is spoken as a great warrior, and conqueror and a man of charitable disposition. **Anantavarman** himself is praised for his wisdom, piety and great renown.

The inscription was engraved to record the installation of an image of Kātyāyanī in the cave[6] located in the Vindhya hills[7] and the grant of a village (name effaced in the epigraph) to the goddess Bhavānī[8]. As apparent from the context, a river flowed nearby the village granted.[9]

---

1 to 5. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

6. The cave also contains the inscription of Daśaratha Maurya, grandson of Aśoka, and is referred to as Gopikā in that epigraph.

7. It may be noted that the Nagarjuni hills (Gaya district) form a distant branch of the Vindhyan range (*CII*, III, 227).

8. Kātyāyanī and Bhavānī are the names of Pārvatī and obviously refer to the same goddess.

9. The river has been referred to as 'Mahānadī'. Fleet (*CII*, III, 228 n. 2) suggests that since the river Mahānadī is more than two hundred miles away from the cave, the river in question should be taken to be the Phalgu flowing nearby.

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B. THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ

1. JAUNPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚVARAVARMAN (?)

[PLATE IV]

Provenance : Jaunpur, Jaunpur District, Uttar Pradesh.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 228-30, plate XXXIIB. For other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*; Bhandarkar's list no. 1601.

Language : Sanskrit. The extant portion is in verse throughout.

Metre : As indicated in the footnotes.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : 6th century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. ..... र्[2](?)...क्ष(?)ल(?)गम् ॥[3]

दोर्भ्यामि[ा]त्मभुवो[4] धनुः सहभुवा क्षत्त्रेण लब्धा(ब्धा)त्मना

विस्तारी

२. ..... [उ]दयिनि[5] मुखराणां भूभुजामन्ववाये ।

सकलपुरुषशक्तिव्यक्तशार्ङ्गप्रतापो

३. ..... कर्म्मणा

याज्ञं[6] ध[ ]मवितानमेघनिवहः पुण्यं वितेने दिवि ॥

४. ..... लक[7]स्रस्तालकाग्रं कुलैः ॥

तस्य[8] दिक्षु f [व]ततामलकीर्त्ते

रात्मजो नृपतिरीश्वरवर्म्मा

1. From plate in *CII*, III.
2. Taking the punctuation mark after *anvavāye* in the next line as for double mark of punctuation, Fleet suggests that seventy-two *akṣaras* have been lost here; But if it indicates the end of the second *pāda* then only thirty eight *akṣaras* have been lost (*CII*, III, 229, n. 2).
3. Metre, doubtful.
4. Metre, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
5. Metre, *Mālinī*.
6. Metre, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
7. Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
8. Metre, *Svāgatā*.

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५. ..... [कृ]पा[1]नुरागशमितक्रूरागमो (?) पद्द्रवै–
लोकानन्दकरैर्गुणैर्गुणवतां को नाम

६. ..... [अ]धिष्ठितं क्षितिभुजां सिंहेन सिंहासनं (नम्) ॥
धारामार्ग्गविनिर्गताग्निकणिका

७. ..... दम् ॥
विन्ध्याद्द्रेः प्रतिरन्ध्रमन्ध्रपतिना शंकापरेणासितं
यातोरैवतकाचलं

८. ..... सां[2] वारणानां घटासु
व्याप्तेषूत्खातखड्गद्युतिखचितभुजेष्वन्ध्रसेनाभटेषु

९. ..... र[3]प्रपातसलिलैः स्नातं शिलागन्धिभिः
प्रालेयाद्द्रिभुवश्च शीतपयसः प्रक्षा

१०. ..... रेणुभिर्गिरिसरित्पूरोर्म्मिभङ्गाकुलै
रुत्सर्प्पद्भिरनुप्रगे[ऽ*]पि दिवसो यस्याप

११. ..... : य .....

ABSTRACT

This very fragmentary inscription[4] has the name of **Īśvaravarman** in the fourth line. The preceding three lines (extant portion) have laudatory phrases like skill in archery and preformance of sacrifices which seem to pertain to his predecessor or predecessors. The rulers of the dynasty are referred to as the Mukharas.

There is again an extensive lacuna after the mention of **Īśvaravarman's** name (in line 4) and it is difficult to determine whether the information furnished pertains to that king or to one of his descendants. In line 6 there is mention of Dhārā (which has been taken by Fleet to refer to the city of that name) and in lines 7 and 8 of the Andhras. Raivataka mountain is also mentioned in line 7.[5] No further details in respect of any of these names can be made out as the lines are badly mutilated.

---

1. Metre. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, and in the next two lines.
2. Metre, *Sragdharā*.
3. Metre, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, and in the next line.
4. See *supra* (text).
5. Fleet makes conjecture that probably there were the names of the king of Dhārā, that of the Andhras and that of Raivataka in the portion now lost (*CII*, III, 229).

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2. HARAHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN

[PLATE V]

Provenance : Haraha, Barabanki District, U.P.

References : N.G. Majumdar, *IA*, XLVI, 125-27; H. Sastri, *EI*, XIV, 110f, and plate; R. C. Majumdar, *IC*, XI, 123f.; D. C. Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 67, n.4; *SI*, 385 f.

Language : Sanskrit. In verse except उत्कीर्णा मिहिरवर्म्मणा at the end.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre : Verses 1-2 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 3 : *Gāthā*; Verse 4 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 5 : *Upajāti*; Verse 6 : *Indravajrā*; Verse 7 : *Mālinī*; Verse 8 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 9 : *Sragdharā*; Verses 10-14 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 15 : *Drutavilambita*; Verses 16-19 : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* Verse 20: *Vasantatilaka*; Verse 21 : *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 22 : *Sragdharā*; Verse 23 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

Date : [Vikrama] year 611 (=554 A.D.).

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [॥*]
लोकाविष्कृतिसक्षयस्थितिकृर्ता यः कारणं वेधसाम् (सां)
ध्वस्तध्वान्तचयाः परास्तरजसो[3] ध्यायन्ति यं योगिनः।
यस्यार्द्धंस्थितयोषितो (ऽ*) पि हृदयेनास्थायि चेतोभुवा
भूतात्मा त्रिपुरान्तकः स

२. जयति श्रेयः प्रसूतिर्भुवः ॥[१॥*]
आशोणां फणिनः फणोपलरुचासैङ्घी (सैंहीं) वसानं त्वचं
शुभ्रां लोचनजन्मना कपिशयद्भासा कपालावलीम् [।*]
तन्वीं ध्वान्तनुदं मृगाकृतिभृतो वि (बि) भ्रत्कलां मौलिना
दिश्यादन्ध-

1. From plate in *EI*, XIV.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Sircar : रजसा.

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३. कविद्विषः स्फूरदहि स्थेयं पदं वो वपुः ॥[२॥*]
सुतशतं लेभे नृपो[ऽ*]श्वपतिर्व्वैवस्वताद्यद् गुणोदितम् ।
तत्प्रसूता दुरितवृत्तिरुधो मुखराः क्षितीशाः क्षतारयः ॥[३॥*]
तेष्वादौ[1] हरिवर्म्मणा (णो) [ऽ*]वनिभुजोभूतिर्भु-
४. वो भूतये ।[2]
रुद्धाशेषदिगन्तरालयशसा रुग्णारिसम्पत्त्विषा ।
सङ्ग्रामे हुतभुक्प्रभाकपिशितं वक्तुं समीक्ष्यारिभि-
र्यो भीतेः (तैः) प्रणतस्ततश्च भुवने ज्वालामुखाख्यां गतः ॥[४॥*]
लोकस्थितीनां स्थितये स्थि-
५. तस्य
मनोरिवाचारविवेक मार्ग्गे
जगाहिरे यस्य जगन्ति रम्याः
सत्कीर्त्तयः कीर्त्तयितव्यनाम्नः ॥[५॥*]
तस्मात्पयोधेरिव शीतरश्मि–
रादित्यवर्म्मा नृपतिर्ब्बभूव ।
वर्ण्णाश्रमाचारविधिप्रणीते–
र्यं प्राप्य
६. साफल्यमियाय धाता ॥[६॥*]
हुतभुजि मखमध्यासङ्गिनि ध्वान्तनीलम् (लं)
वियति पवनजन्मभ्रान्तिविक्षेपभूयः ।
मुखरयति समन्तादुत्पतद्धूमजालम् (लं)
शिखिकुलमुरु[3]मेघाशङ्कि यस्य[4]
७. प्रसक्तम् ॥[७॥*]
तेनापीश्वरवर्म्मणः क्षितिपतेः क्षत्रप्रभावाप्तये ।
जन्माकारि कृतात्मनः क्रतुगणेष्वाहूतवृत्त्रद्विषः ।
यस्योत्खातकलिस्वभावचरितस्याचारमार्ग्गं नृपा
यत्नेनापि ययाति

---

1. Looks like तेष्वापे.
2. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
3. Sirear : °मरु.
4. In Sircar's text यस्य is at the beginning of line 7, which obviously is a printing mistake.

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८. तुल्ययशसो नान्ये(ऽ*)नुगन्तुं क्षमाः ।।[८।।*]
नीत्या शौर्य[1] विशालं सुहृदमकुठिनेनोत्तमेच्छाङ्कुलेन[2] ।[3]
त्यागं पात्रेण वित्तप्रभवमपि ह्रिया[4] यौवनं संयमेन [।*]
वाचं सत्येन चेष्टां श्रुतिपथविधिना प्रश्रये

९. णोत्तमर्द्धिम्(र्द्धिं)
यो बध्नंनै(ध्नन्नै)व खेदं व्रजति कलिमय[5]ध्वान्तमग्ने[ऽ*]पि
लोके ।।[९।।*]

यस्येज्यास्वनिशं यथाविधि हुतज्योतिर्ज्वलज्जन्मना ।[6]
धूमेनाञ्जनभङ्गमेचकरुचा दिक्चक्रवाले तते ।
आयाता नव

१०. वारिभारविनमन्मेघावली प्रावृडि-
त्युन्मादोद्धतचेतसः शिखिगणा वाचलतामाययुः ।।[१०।।*]
तस्मात्सूर्य्य इवोदयाद्रिशिरसो धातुर्म्मरुत्वानिव
क्षीरोदादिव तर्जितेन्दुकिरणः कान्तप्रभः कौस्तुभः [।*]

११. भूतानामुदपद्यत स्थितिकरः स्थेष्ठं महिम्नः पदम्(दं)
राजान्राजकमण्डलाम्बरशशी श्रीशानवर्म्मा नृपः ।।[११*]
लोकानामुपकारिणारिकुमुदव्यालुप्तकान्तिश्रिया ।[7]
मित्रास्याम्बुरुहाग(क)रद्द्युतिकृता भूरि-

१२. प्रतापत्विषा ।
येनाच्छादितसत्पथं कलियुगध्वान्तावमग्नञ्जग-
त्सूर्येणेव समुद्यता कृतमिदंभूयः प्रवृत्तक्रियम्[8] ।।[१२।।*]
जित्वान्ध्राधिपतिं सहस्रगणितत्रेधाक्षरद्वारणम्(णं)
व्या[9]वल्गन्नियुताति-

---

1. Sircar : शौर्य्यं.
2. Read मकुटिले°. Sastri suggests मकुटिलेनोत्तमोर्व्वी°.
3. The *dāṇḍa* is redundant.
4. Read ह्रिया.
5. Sircar : कलिमये.
6. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
7. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
8. Sastri : प्रवृत°
9. Sircar : व्यव°.

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१३. संख्यतुरगान्भङ्क्त्वा रणे शूलिकाम्[1](न्)।
कृत्वा चायतिमौ(मो)चितस्थलभुवो गौडान्समुद्राश्रया-
नध्यासिष्ट नतक्षितीशचरणः सिङ्हा(सिंहा)सनं यो जिती ॥[१३॥*]
प्रस्थानेषु बलार्ण्णवाभिगमनक्षोभस्फुटद्भूतल-
१४. प्रोद्भूतस्थगितार्क्कमण्डलरुचा दिग्व्यापिना रेणुना।
यस्यामूढदिनादिमध्यविरतौ लोके[ऽ*]न्धकारी कृते।[2]
व्यक्ति नाडिकयैव यान्ति जयिनो यामास्त्रियामास्विव ॥[१४*]
प्रविशती कलिमारुतघट्टिता
१५. स्थितिरलक्ष्यरसातलवारिधौ।
गुणशतैरवबध्य समन्ततः
स्फुटितनौरिव येन बलाद्धि(द्धृ)ता[3] ॥[१५॥*]
ज्याघातव्रणरूढिकर्क्कशभुजाव्याकृष्टशार्ङ्ग च्युता-
न्यस्यावाप्य पतत्त्रिणो रणमुखे[4] प्राणानमुञ्च
१६. न्द्विषः।
यस्मिन्शासति च क्षितिं क्षिति पतौ जातेव भूयस्त्रयी।[5]
तेनध्वस्तकलि प्रवृत्तितिमिरः श्रीसूर्य्यवर्म्माजनि ॥[१६॥*]
यो बालेन्दुसकान्तिकृत्स्नभुवनप्रेयो दधद्यौवनम्(नं)
शान्तः शास्त्रविचारणा-
१७. हितमनाः पारङ्कलानाङ्गतः।
लक्ष्मीकीर्त्तिसरस्वतीप्रभृतयो यं स्पर्धयेवाश्रिता
लोके कामितकामिभावरसिकः कान्ताजनो भूयसा ॥[१७॥*]
सद्वृत्तेन[6] बलात्कलेरवनति(तं)तावत्प्रवृद्धात्मनो[7]
बाणै
१८. स्तावदवस्थितं स्मृतिभुवः कान्ताशरीरक्षतौ।
लक्ष्म्या तावदकाण्डभङ्गजभयं त्यक्तम्परापाश्रयम्(यं)
यावन्नाविरकारि यस्य जनताकान्तं वपुर्व्वेधसा ॥[१८॥*]
लक्ष्म्यः शत्रुभुवः कुचग्रहभयावेशभ्रम-

1. Sircar : सूलि°.
2. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
3. Sircar : बलाद्धि(द्ध)ता.
4. Sastri : रणमखे.
5. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
6. Sircar : सद्व°.
7. Sastri suggests °रवनतिस्ताव°.

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१९. ल्लोचना ।[1]
येनाकृष्य भुजेन विस्फुरदसिज्योतिः कलासङ्गिना ।
कान्ता मन्मथिनेव कामितविदा गाढं निपीडयोरसा ।[2]
प्रायेणान्यमनुष्यसंश्रयकृतं भावं परित्याजिता ॥[१९॥*]
तेनानतोन्नतिकृता

२०. मृगयागतेन
दृष्ट्वाद्यमन्धकभिदो भवनं विशीर्ण्णम्[।*]
स्वेच्छासमुन्नतमकारि ललाम भूमेः
क्षेमेश्वरप्रतिथनाम शशाङ्कशुभ्रम् ॥[२०॥*]
एकादशातिरिक्तेषु षट्सु[3] शातितविद्विषि ।
शतेषुशरदां

२१. पत्यौ भुवः **श्रीशानवर्म्मणि** ॥[२१॥*]
यस्मिन्काले[ऽ*]म्बुवाहा नवगवलरुचः प्रान्तलग्नेन्द्रचापा-
स्तन्वन्त्याशावितानं स्फुरदुरुतडितः सान्द्रधीरं क्वणन्तः[4] ।
वाताश्च वान्ति नीपान्नवकुसुमचयानम्रमूर्ध्नो

२२. धुनाना-
स्तस्मिन्मुक्ताम्बुमेघद्युति भवनमदो निर्म्मितं शूलपाणेः ॥[२२॥*]
कुमारशान्तेः पुत्रेण गर्ग्गराकटवासिना ।
नृपानुरागात्पूर्व्वेय[5]मकारि रविशान्तिना ॥[२३॥*]
उत्कीर्ण्णा मिहिरवर्म्मणा [॥*]

ABSTRACT

Beginning with an invocation of Śiva, the epigraph refers to the family of Īśānavarman as Mukhara[6] (not Maukhari, the dynastic name more commonly met with). The Mukharas are called descendants of the hundred sons granted to Aśvapati by Vaivasvata[7]. From the epigraph we get the

1. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Sircar : षट्षु Sastri; षदु.
4. Sastri : क्वणन्तः
5. Sastri पूर्वे°.
6. For 'Mukhara', see *supra*, p. 17.
7. Identified with the seventh Manu by some and with Yama by others (*supra.*, p. 17).

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following genealogy : Harivarman, Ādityavarman, Īśvaravarman, **Īśānavarman** and **Sūryavarman**.

Harivarman, *alias* Jvālāmukha, is referred to as great terror to his enemies, a famous ruler who perpetuated moral laws and piety. Ādityavarman and Īśvaravarman have been eulogised in conventional phraseology and Īśvaravarman in particular is referred to as a brave, wise, liberal and wealthy ruler. Thereafter **Īśānavarman's** qualities of head and heart are narrated and he is praised for his bravery and patronage to Vedic studies. The epigraph makes specific mention of his exploits, viz., his victory over the king of the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas.

The king's son, prince **Sūryavarman**[1], also comes in for high praise as well versed in the śāstras, patron of Vedic studies and accomplished in the fine arts, and it is put on record that seeing a dilapidated temple of Andhakabhida (Śiva) while on a hunting expedition, he had it renovated and extended in the year 611 [V. S.][2] giving it the name Kṣemeśvara.

The name of the composer of the *praśasti* is given as Raviśānti, son of Kumāraśānti, a resident of Garggarākaṭa[3], and that of the engraver as Mihiravarman.

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1. The prince has been given the epithet *nṛpa*; he probably governed over the region around Haraha, where the epigraph was found.
2. The use of the word *śaradām* in the context of the era shows that Vikrama *saṁvat* is meant as the year in that era begins in Śarada. The date which is the only definitely known date for the reign period of the Maukharis is the base on which the chronology of the Maukharis as also of the Later Guptas has been built.
3. Sastri suggests that the reading should be *Garggarākoṭa*, very probably a fort situated on the Ghagra, a tributary of the Gangā (*EI.* XIV, 115; see also Pires, *op. cit.*, 76).

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3. ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL OF ŚARVAVARMAN

[PLATE VI]

Provenance : Asirgadh, Nimad District, Madhya Pradesh.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 219f, plate XXXA. For other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*; Bhandarkar's list no. 1602.

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* third quarter of the sixth ceutury A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. चतुस्समुद्रातिक्क्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजा (जो) वर्ण्णाश्रमव्यवस्था-

२. पनप्रवृत्तचक्क्रश्चक्क्रधर इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहर[:*] श्रि (श्री) महाराजहरिवर्म्मा[।।*] तस्य

३. पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्य[।*]तो जयस्वामिनीभट्टारिकादेव्य[।*]मुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजादित्यव-

४. र्म्मा[।।*]तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो हर्षगुप्ताभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमह[।*]रा-

५. जेश्वरवर्म्मा[।।*]तस्यपुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात उपगुप्ताभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नो

६. महाराजाधिराज श्रि (श्री) ई[2]शानवर्म्मा[।।*]तस्यपुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो लक्ष[म]ी व-

७. तीभट्टारिकामह[।]देव्यामुत्पन्न⌒परममाहेश्वरा (रो) म-

८. हाराजाधिराजश्रीशर्व्ववर्म्मा मौखरिः [।।*]

ABSTRACT

The seal inscription praises Harivarman, the first ruler of the Maukhari dynasty, in conventional phraseology as a monarch whose fame stretched beyond the four oceans, who by the dint of his prowess as also by love brought the other kings under subjection, who regulated different *varṇas* and *āśramas*

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1. From plate in *CII*, III. The seal bears the device of a bull walking to left, with an umbrella above, and flanked on either side by a man.
2. Read श्रीशान°.

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and who removed afflictions of his subjects. The seal then gives the genealogy of the Maukhari kings which works out as below :

Mahārāja Harivarman=Jayasvāminī *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
|
Mahārāja Ādityavarman=Harṣaguptā *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
|
Mahārāja Īśvaravarman=Upaguptā *Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
|
Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman=Lakṣmīvatī *Bhāṭṭārikādevī*
|
Mahārājādhirāja **Śarvavarman Maukhari**

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4. NALANDA CLAY SEAL OF ŚARVAVARMAN

[PLATE VII and VIIA]

Provenance : Nalanda, Patna District, Bihar.

References : H. Sastri, *ASIAR*, 1927-28, 139; *EI*, XXI, 73-74, and plate; *MASI*, *66*, 67-68.

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* third quarter of the sixth century A.D.

The seal[1] contains the text which is identical with that met with on the Asirgadh seal of this ruler [**Śarvavarman**].[2]

1. See *EI*, XXI. There are several specimens of the seals of Śarvavarman, but except a fairly preserved specimen, all of them are fragmentary. (*MASI*, *66*, 68).
2. Supra.

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5. SOHNAG SEAL OF AVANTIVARMAN

[PLATE VIII]

Provenance : Sohnag, Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh.
Reference : M. S. Vats, *EI*, XXVII, 62-65 and plate.
Language : Sanskrit, prose.
Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Date : *Circa* fourth quarter of the sixth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. चतुस्समुद्रातिक्क्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजा (जो) वर्ण्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापन-
२. प्रवृत्त-चक्क्रश्चक्क्रधर इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहरः श्रीमह[ा]राजहरिवर्म्म[ा] [।।*]तस्य पुत्त्रस्त-
३. त्पादानुद्ध्यातो ज-यस्वामिनीभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजादित्यवर्म्म[ा] [।।*]तस्यपुत्त्रस्तत्पादानु-
४. द्ध्यातो जयस्वामिनी[2]-भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजेश्वरवर्म्मा[।।*]तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात उपगुप्ता-
५. भट्टारिका-देव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीई[3]शानवर्म्मा[।।*]तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो
६. लक्ष्मीवतीभट्टारिका देव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीशर्ववर्म्मा[।।*]
७. तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात इन्द्रभट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्न[:*]परममाहेश्वरो
८. महाराजाधिराजश्री**अवन्तिवर्म्मा**[4] **मौखरिः**[।।*]

---

1. From plate in *EI*, XXVII.
2. **जयस्वामिनी** was the name of the mother of Ādityavarman as per evidence of the present seal and other seals of the Maukhari kings. The name of Ādityavarman's queen is given as Harṣaguptā in other Maukhari seals. Obviously the scribe of the present seal has committed a mistake in giving the name of the queen of Ādityavarman.
3. Read **श्रीशान°**.
4. Read **श्रयवन्ति**.

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ABSTRACT

The text of the seal is identical to that on the seals of Śarvavarman except for the fact that it (wrongly) gives the name of the queen of Ādityavarman as Jayasvāminī, instead of Harṣaguptā, and has in addition the name of Śarvavarman's son *Paramamāheśvara Mahārājādhirāja* **Avantivarman Maukhari,** born of Indrabhaṭṭārikādevī.

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6. NALANDA CLAY SEAL OF AVANTIVARMAN

[PLATE IX]

Provenance : Nalanda, Patna District, Bihar.
Reference : A. Ghosh, *EI*, XXIV, 283f. and plate.
Language : Sanskrit, prose.
Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Date : *Circa* fourth quarter of the 6th century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. चतुस्समुद्रातिक्क्रान्तक[ी][ि]त्तः प्रत[ा]प[ा]नुर[ा]गोप···
२. चक्क्रश्चक्क्रधर इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहरः श्री·····
३. स्व[ा]मिनीभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्री·····
४. भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराज[ ]·····
५. देव्यामुत्पन्न[ो]श्रीमहाराजाधिरा[जश्री*]ईशा[2]नवर्म्मा[।।*]तस्य पुत्रस्त . . . .
६. लक्ष्मीवतीभट्टारिकाम[हादेव्या]मुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीशर्व्ववर्म्मा[।।*]
७. तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा[नुध्यात इन्द्र*]भट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वर[ो]
८. [महारा*]जाधिराजश्री[3]**अवन्तिवर्म्मा मौखरिः** [।।*]

ABSTRACT

The extant portion of the epigraph is identical with that on the Sohnag seal of this ruler **[Avantivarman]**.[4]

---

1. From plate in *EI*, XXIV.
2. Read श्रीशानवर्म्मा.
3. Read श्र्यवन्ति°.
4. *Supra*.

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7. KANAUJ CLAY SEAL[1] OF AVANTIVARMAN

[PLATE X and XA]

Provenance : Kanauj, Farrukhabad District, Uttar Pradesh.

Reference : Unpublished.[2]

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* fourth quarter of the sixth century A.D.

TEXT

१. [चतुस्समुद्रातिक्क्रान्त कीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यरा*]जो वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापन-
प्रवृत्त

२. [चक्क्रश्चक्क्रधर इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहरः श्रीमहाराजह*]रिवर्म्मा[।।*] तस्य पुत्रस्त]
त्पादानुध्यातो जय

३. [स्वामिनीभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजादित्यवर्म्मा[।।*] तस्य पुत्रस्त*]
त्पादानुध्यातो हर्षगुप्ता

४. [भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजेश्वरवर्म्मा [।।*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात
उपगुप्त।*]भट्टारिका[3]

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1. It is a clay seal-matrix with letters carved in reverse order.
2. A detailed note on this seal by the present author has been accepted for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. In this note it has been established that the issuer of the seal was Avantivarman. The grounds are :
   (i) The shape of the complete seal can be made with the help of the contours of the extant piece of the matrix, and a comparison with other Maukhari seals. The space of the seal is sufficient only to include the text that is met with on other seals of Avantivarman.
   (ii) A comparison of the text, line by line, with other Maukhari seals shows that it tallies with that on the seals of Avantivarman only.
3. The portion bearing rest of the legend has been lost but the legend can be restored with the help of other seals of Avantivarman.

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8. NALANDA CLAY SEAL OF SU–

[PLATE XI]

Provenance : Nalanda, Patna District, Bihar.
Reference : A. Ghosh, *EI*, XXIV, 285, plate B.
Language : Sanskrit, prose.
Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Date : *Circa* first half of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. .....व्यामुत्प[न्न]नः.....
२. .....ट्टा[ि]रक[ा]देव्यामुत्पन्नः श्री महाराजे.....
३. उपगुप्ताभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधि. . .
४. त्पादानुध्यातो लक्ष्मीवतीभट्टारिकामहादेव्या...
५. शर्व्ववर्म्मा[।।*]तस्य[पु]त्त्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात इन्द्रभट्टा...
६. [महाराजाधिराज]श्री अवन्तिवर्म्मा[।।*]तस्य पु...
७. [वती?]भट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्नः पर.....
८. राजा[धि]राजश्रीसु[2].....

ABSTRACT

This fragmentary seal has names of some Maukhari kings and queens from which the genealogy works out as below.

..... = Upaguptā-*Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
|
..... = Lakṣmīvatī-*Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
|
Śarvavarman = Indra-*Bhaṭṭārikādevī*
|
Avantivarman = ...
|
Su—

1. From plate in *EI*, XXIV.
2. There are traces of a letter after सु which could either be व or च. N.P. Chakravarti suggested the restoration सुच(न्द्रवर्म्मामौखरिः)

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This incomplete genealogy of the Maukhari kings can be reconstructed with the help of other Maukhari seals, upto Avantivarman. This seal, however, has special significance as so far it happens to be the only record in which the name of king **Su-** finds mention[1].

1. For Su- see Appendix : 'The Position of King Su- in the Maukhari Chronology', *supra*, pp. 34-35.

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APPENDIX

SHANKARPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE TIME OF BUDHAGUPTA

[PLATE XII]

Provenance : Shankarpur, Sidhi District, Madhya Pradesh.

Reference : B. C. Jain, *Jr Ep. Soc. Ind.*, IV, 62-66 and plate facing p. 64.

Language : Sanskrit; prose, except two verses.

Metre : Verses 1-2 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : Year 168 [Gupta Era=487 A.D.], Śrāvaṇa, fifth day.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*] **सम्वत्सरष(श)त[ ]ष्टषष्ट्युत(त्त)रे[3] महामाघ सम्वत्सर(रे) श्रावण[मासे पंच*]**

२. **म्यां** परमदेवबु**धगुप्ते** राजनि[।।*] अस्यां दिवसपूर्वायां श्रीमहाराजसालन

३. क[,]– – तेन[4]श्रीमहाराजगी(?)तवर्म्मपौत्रेण श्रीमहाराजविजयवर्म्मसुतेन

४. महादेव्या[ ]शर्वस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नेन श्रीमहाराज**हरिवर्म्मणा** अस्यब्राह्मणकौ[त्स]

५. सगोत्रगोस्वामिने तच्चित्रपल्य ताम्रपट्टेनाग्रहारोतिसृष्टः अकरः अचाटभटप्रा-

६. वेश्यः चन्द्रतारार्क्कसमकालीयः ।[।*]उक्तञ्चभगवता व्यासेन[।।*]
स्वदत्ता[ ]परदत्ताम्[व]ा यो

७. हरेत वसुन्धरा[म्] [।*]
स्व[स]विष्ठा(ष्ठा)यां कृमिर्भूता पितृभिः सह मज्यते[।।१।।*] [।*]
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा

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1. From plate in *Jr. Ep. Soc. Ind.*; IV.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Jain read it as—(श)तेस(ष)ट्स(ट्प)स्ट्यु(ष्ठ्यु)त्तरे. The reading given by us is after K.V. Ramesh's editorial note (*Jr. Ep. Soc. Ind.*, IV, 66, n. 17).
4. Jain : स[श]क[दौहि]ते(त्रे)न. K.V. Ramesh. साल (or र्य)न कुलोद्भूतेन (editorial comment on Jain's reading).

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८. भुक्ता राजभिः सक(ग)रादिभि [:] [।*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥२॥*]

९. कुमारामात्यभगवद्रुद्रच्छदि भोगिक महाप्रतीहार लवनः(णः) बपिद्रभोगिक-

१०. दूतक(के)न लिखितं **श्रीयष्टराजेन** नागस(श)र्मसु[तेन*] [॥*]

ABSTRACT

The copper-plate grant of *Mahārāja* Harivarman is dated [fifth] of Srāvaṇa month, year 168 [of the Gupta era=487 A.D.], and issued during the reign of king Budhagupta [of the Imperial Gupta dynasty].

It gives the following genealogy :-

Mahārāja Śāla(?)na
|
Mahārāja Gī(?)tavarman
|
Mahārāja Vijayavarman=Śarvasvāminī
|
Mahārāja Harivarman.

The last-named ruler has been identified with the homonym Maukhari king who is referred to in the Maukhari epigraphs as the first ruler of that dynasty. The present epigraph shows that Harivarman's father, grand-father and great-grand-father ruled before him, and that he was a feudatory of Budhagupta.

The epigraph refers to the grant of the village Citrapalya to Brāhmaṇa Gosvāmin of the Kautsa *gotra* on a permanent basis and with specific conditions that no taxes would be realised from it [by the state] and no soldiers would enter it.

Certain officials viz. *kumārāmātya*, *bhogika*, *mahāpratihāra* and *dūtaka* find mention in connection with the execution of the grant.

The text of the inscription was written by Yaṣṭarāja, who held the rank of *bhogika* and *dūtaka*, and was the son of Nāgaśarman.

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II

Inscriptions of the Later Guptas

1. SHAHPUR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF ĀDITYASENA

[PLATE XIII]

Provenance : Shahpur, Patna District, Bihar.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 208f, plate XXIX A. For other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*, and Bhandarkar's list no. 1393.

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : Year 66 [Harṣa era=672 A.D.], Mārgaśīrṣa, bright fortnight, 3rd day.

TEXT[1]

१. .....ख.ल.ढ.ग...चन्द्रक्षिति कालं यावत[प्र]तिपादितं (तम्) [।।*]

२. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*] **सम्व (संव) त् ६० ६ मार्ग्ग शु दि**[3] ७ (?)[4] अस्यान्दिवसमाससम्व (संव) त्सरानुपूव्व्यां[5] श्री**आदित्यसेन-**[6]

३. [देव]राज[ये] ना (?) लन्द (?) महाग्रहारे साध[,न]ा व (ब) लाधिकृत**सालपक्षेण**

दे[य*]धर्म्मो[ऽ*]यं प्रतिष्ठितं (तः)

४. [मातापित्रोरा]त्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये[।।*]

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1. The plate in *CII*, III, is not distinct. We have followed Fleet.
2. Expressed by a symbol which is taken by Fleet as ओम्.
3. मार्ग्ग=मार्गशीर्ष, शु=शुद्ध, दि=दिवस.
4. Cunningham read the year as 55 and the day as 1. Bhagwanlal Indraji read the year as 88. We have followed Fleet.
5. Supply तिथौ.
6. Read श्र्यादित्य°.

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ABSTRACT

This inscription of the time of **Ādityasena,** dated **7th day of the bright fortnight of Mārga (Mārgaśīrṣa), in the 66th year,**[1] records the making of a religious gift[2] by **Sālapakṣa**, the *balādhikṛta*, in the *agrahāra* of Nālandā,[3] for the increase of the merit of his parents and himself.

1. The era is not specified but most probably it is Harṣa era. For differences of opinion on the reading of the date, see Fleet, *CII*, III, 209 n.
2. In all probability this 'religious gift' was the image of Sun god, on the pedestal of which the inscription has been engraved. The epigraph probably also recorded a land grant, details about which were contained in line 1, which is almost completely effaced.
3. The image (which is not traceable now) must have been originally installed at Nālandā, and later removed to near-by Shahpur, where it came to light (Fleet, *CII*, III, 209).

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2. APHSAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀDITYASENA

[PLATE XIV]

Provenance : Aphsad, District Gaya, Bihar.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 200f., plate XXVIII. For other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*, and Bhandarkar's list no. 1552.

Language : Sanskrit, verse throughout.

Metres : Verse 1 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 2 : *Āryā*; Verse 3 : *Sragdharā*; Verse 4 : *Āryā*; Verse 5 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; Verses 6-7 : *Āryā*; Verse 8 : *Sragdharā*; Verses 9-10 : *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 11 : *Vasantatilaka*; Verse 12 : *Āryā*; Verse 13 : *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 14 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 15 : *Āryā*; Verses 16-17 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verses 18-19 : *Vasantatilaka*; Verse 20 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 21 : *Sragdharā*; Verse 22 : *Vasantatilaka*; Verse 23 : *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 24: *Sragdharā*; Verses 25-26 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 27 : *Anuṣṭubh*; Verses 28-29 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* Verse 30 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* second half of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [॥*]

आसीद्दन्तिसहस्रगाढकटको विद्याधराध्यासितः

सद्वंशः स्थिर उन्नतो गिरिरिव श्रीकृष्णगुप्तो नृपः ।

दृप्तारातिमदान्धवारणघटाकुम्भस्थलीः क्षुन्दता

यस्यासंख्यरिपुप्रतापजयिना दोष्णा मृगेन्द्रायितं (तम्) ॥ [१॥*]

सकलः कलङ्करहितः

२. क्षततिमिरतोयधेः शशाङ्क इव ।

तस्मादुदपादि सुतोदेवः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति ॥ [२॥*]

यो योग्याकालहेलावनतदृढधनुर्भीमबाणौघपाती

मू[र्त्तैः][3] स्वस्वामिलक्ष्मीवसतिविमुखितैरीक्षितः सासुपातं (तम्) ।

घोराणामा-

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1. From plate in *CII*, III.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. The second *ta* in the conjoint is not clear.

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३. हवानां[1] लिखितमिव जयं श्लाघ्यमाविर्द्धानो
वक्षस्युद्दामशस्त्रव्रणकठिनकिणग्रन्थिलेखाच्छलेन ॥[३॥*]
श्रीजीवितगुप्तो[ऽ*]भूत्क्षितीशचूडामणिः सुतस्तस्य ।
यो दृप्तवैरिनारीमुखनलिनवनैकशे(शि)शे(शि)रकरः[2] ॥[४॥*]

४. मुक्तामुक्तपयः प्रवाहशिशिरासूत्तुङ्गतालीवन-
भ्राम्यद्दन्तिकरावलूनकदलीकाण्डासु वेलास्वपि ।
श्च्योतत्स्फारतुषारनिर्झरपयः शीते[ऽ*]पि शैलेस्थिता-
न्यस्योच्चैर्द्विषतो मुमोच

५. न महाघोरः प्रतापज्वरः ॥[५॥*]
यस्यातिमानुषं कर्म्म दृश्यते विस्मयाज्जनौघेन ।
अद्यापि कोशवर्द्धनतटा[त्प्लु][3]तं पवनजस्येव ॥[६॥*]
प्रख्यातशक्तिमाजिषु पुरःसरं श्री कुमा-

६. रगुप्तमिति ।
अजनयदेकं स नृपो हर इव शिखिवाहनं तनयं(यम्) ॥[७॥*]
उत्सर्प्पद्वातहेलाचलितकदलिकावीचिमालावितानः
प्रोद्यद्धूलीजलौघभ्रमितगुरुमहामत्त-

७. मातंगशैलः ।
भीमः श्रीशानवर्म्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिन्धु-
र्ल्लक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥[८॥*]
शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो ध-

८. ने(नी)।
अम्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः स पुष्पपूजितः ॥[९॥*]
श्रीदामोदरगुप्तो[ऽ*]भूत्तनयस्तस्य भूपतेः ।
येन दामोदरेणेव दैत्या इव हता द्विषः ॥[१०॥*]
यो मौखरेः समितिषूद्ध-

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1. Fleet हवानम् which is obviously a misprint.
2. Pandey reads शिशिरकरः [*HLI*, 150].
3. Only *l* in the conjoint *tpluta* is not clear.

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९. तहूणसैन्या
वलग्द्धटा विघटयन्नुरुवारणानां (नाम्) ।
संमूर्च्छितः सुरवधु (धू) र्वरयं (यन्) ममेति
तत्पा [ि] णपङ्कजसुखस्पर्शाद्विवु (बु) द्धः[1] ।। [११।।*]
गुणवद्वि (द्दि) जकन्याना [ं] नानालंकारयौवन-

१०. वतीनां ।
परिणायितवान्स[2] नृपः शतं निसृष्टाग्रहाराणां (णाम्)।। [१२।।*]
श्र [ी] महासेनगुप्तो [ऽ*] भूत्तस्माद्वीराग्रणी[3] [:] सुतः ।
सर्व्ववीरसमाजेषु लेभे यो धुरि वीरता [ं] (ताम्) [।। १३।।*]
श्र [ी] मत्सुस्थितवर्म्मयुद्धविजय

११. श्लाघापदाङ्कं मुहु-
र्यस्याद्यापि विवु (बु) द्धकुन्दकुमुदक्षुण्णाच्छहार [ॅ] त [ं] (तम्) ।
लोहित्यस्य तट [ॅ] षु श [ी] तलतल [ॅ] षूत्फ [ु] ल [ल] नागद्र [ु] म
च्छायासुप्तविवु (बु) द्ध [ि] सद्ध [ि] मथुन [ै] : स्फ [ी] तं यशो गीयते ।। [१४।।*]
वसुदेवा-

१२. दिव तस्माच्छ्रीस [ॅ] वन [शो] भ [ी] दितचरणयुगः [।*]
श्री माधवगुप्तो [ऽ*] भून्माधव इव विक्रमैकरस [:] [।। १५।।*]
[- - - ॅ अ] नुस्म [ृ] तो धुरि रण [ॅ] श्लाघावतामग्रण [ी] :
सो (सौ) जन्यस्य निधानमर्थनिध (च)-

१३. य त्यागो [द्*] धुराणां धर [:] ।
लक्ष्म [ी] स [त्यस] रस्वतीकुलगृह [ं] धर्मस्य सेतुर्दृढ :
पूज्यो[4] (?) ना [ि] स्त स भ [ू] तल [ॅ] ॅ ॅ - - - ॅ -सद्गुण [ै :] ।। [१६।।*]
चक्र [ं] पाणितलेन सो [ऽ*] प्युदवहत्तस्यापि शार्ङ्ग [ं] धनु-

१४. र्नाशायासुहृदा [ं] सुखाय सुहृदां तस्याप्यसिर्नन्दकः ।
प्राप्ते विद्विषतां वधे प्रतिहत [ं] तेनापि [- - ॅ -
- - - ॅ ॅ - ॅ -ढ (?) रि (?) म (?) [- -] न्याः प्रणेमुर्ज्जनाः ।। [१७।।*]
आजौ मया विनिहता व (ब)-

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1. Fleet remarks, "the metre is faulty here; instead of two long syllables, we ought to have two short and one long" (*CII*, III, 203 n.).
2. Fleet, o वन्स.
3. Subscript *r* is not clear. We have followed Fleet.
4. The first letter may also be read as प्र (instead of पू). The reading ज्यो is extremely doubtful.

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१५. लिनो द्विषन्[तः]
कृत्य[ं]न म[ं*][ऽ*]स्त्यपरमित्यवधार्य वीरः[।]
श्रीहर्षदेवनिजस[ं]गमवाञ्छया च(?)
[--⌣-⌣⌣⌣-⌣⌣-⌣--] [॥१८॥*]
श्र[ी]मान्व(न्ब)भूव दलितारिकरीन्द्रकुम्भ
मुक्तारजः

१६. पटलपांसुलमण्डलाग्रः।
आदित्यसेन इति तत्तनयः क्षितीश-
चूडाम[ि]णर्द्द[⌣⌣-⌣⌣-⌣--] [॥१९॥*]
[---⌣⌣-⌣]मागतमरिध्वंसोत्थमाप्तं[1] यशः
श्लाघ्यं

१७. सर्व्वधनुष्मतां पुर इति श्लाघं[ा]परां वि(बि)भ्रती ।
आशीर्व्वादपरंपरा चिरसकृ(?)द्[--⌣--⌣-
---⌣⌣-⌣-⌣⌣⌣---⌣] यामासम(?)॥[२०॥*]
आजौ स्वेदच्छलेन ध्व-

१८. जपटशिखया मार्ज्जतो दानपङ्कं
खड्गं क्षुण्णेन मुक्ताशकलसिकतिल[ी?]कृत्य[--⌣--
----⌣--⌣⌣⌣⌣⌣⌣- मत[त]मातंगघातं
तद्गन्धाकृष्टसर्प्पद्व(द्ब)

१९. हलपरिमलभ्रात्त(न्त्त)मत्तालिजालं(लम्)॥[२१॥*]
आव(ब)द्धभीमविकटभ्रुकुटी कठोर-
स[ं]ग्रा[ा][2]म[-⌣⌣⌣-⌣⌣-⌣--।]
[--⌣-⌣⌣]ववल्लभभृत्यवर्ग्ग-
गोष्ठीषु पेश-

२०. लतया परिहासशीलः॥[२२॥*]
सत्यभत्तृव्रता यस्य मुखोपध[ा]नतापसी ।
प[ि]रहास [-⌣-------⌣-⌣-][॥२३॥*]
[----⌣-]ज्ञः सकलरिपुव(ब)लध्वंसहेत्तु(तु[3])र्ग्गरी-

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1. Pandey °ध्वंसोऽसमाप्तं.
2. Only the subscript *r* in संग्राम is not clear.
3. Fleet : ध्वंसहेतु°.

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२१. या-
न्निस्त्रिंशोत्खातघातश्रमजनितजडो[ऽ*]प्यूर्ज्जितस्वप्रतापः ।
युद्धे मत्तेभकुम्भस्थ[ल⏑⏑⏑⏑--⏑--⏑--]
[--]श्वेतात्पत्त्रस्थगित वसुमतीमण्डलो लो-

२२. कपालः ॥[२४॥*]
आजौ मत्तगजेन्द्रकुम्भदलनस्फीतस्फुरद्दोर्युगो-
ध्वस्ताने(?)क रिपुप्रभाव व[⏑⏑---]यशोमण्डलः ।
न्यस्ताशेषनरेन्द्रमौलिचरणस्फारप्रतापान-

२३. लो
लक्ष्मीवान्समराभिमानविमलप्रख्यातकीर्त्तिर्नृपः ॥[२५॥*]
येनेयं शरदिन्दुविम्वधवला प्रख्यातभूमण्डला
लक्ष्मी संगमकांक्षया सुमहती कीर्त्तिश्चिरं कोपिता ।
याता सा-

२४. गरपारमद्भुत्तमा सापत्न्यवैरादहो
तेनेदं भवनोत्तमं क्षितिभुजा विष्णोः कृते कारितं(तम्) ॥[२६॥*]
तज्जनन्या महादेव्या श्रीमत्या कारितो मठः ।
धार्मिकेभ्यः[1] स्वयं दत्तः सुरलो-

२५. कगृहोपमः ॥[२७॥*]
शंखेन्दुस्फटिकप्रभाप्रतिसमस्फारस्फुरच्छीकरं
नक्रक्रान्तिचलत्तरङ्गविलसत्पक्षिप्रनृत्यत्तिमि ।
राज्ञ्या[2] खानितमद्भुतं सुतपसा पेपीयमानं

२६. जनै-
स्तस्यैव प्रियभार्यया नरपतेः श्रीकोणदेव्या सरः ॥[२८॥*]
यावच्चन्द्रकला हरस्य शिरसि श्रीः शार्ङ्गिनो वक्षसि
व्र(ब्र)ह्मास्ये च सरस्वती कृत-

२७. [⏑---⏑--⏑-] ।
[भोगे]भूर्भूजगाधिपस्य च तडिद्यावद्घनस्योदरे
तावत्कीर्त्तिमिहातनोति धवला**मादित्यसेनो** नृपः ॥[२९॥*]
सूक्ष्मशिवेन गौडेन प्रशस्तिर्व्विकटाक्षरा ॥(।)

२८. [---]मा(?)मिता सम्यग्धार्म्मिकेण सुधीमता ॥[३०॥*]

1. Fleet omits *visarga*.
2. Pandey : राज्ञां, which is incorrect.

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ABSTRACT

The undated and worn record of Ādityasena begins with the traditional symbol of *siddham* and is Vaisṇavite in character. The epigraph contains the genealogy of the Later Gupta kings from Kṛṣṇagupta to Ādityasena as also a brief account of their achievements. The genealogy runs as below :-

1. Kṛṣṇagupta
2. Harṣagupta
3. Jīvitagupta
4. Kumāragupta
5. Dāmodaragupta
6. Mahāsenagupta
7. Mādhavagupta
8. Ādityasena.

Kṛṣṇagupta is stated as a king of 'good descent' many of whose cities had a number of elephants and who had to his credit many victories over his enemies.

His successor, Harṣagupta, is described as a brave and compelling warrior who fought many battles, and though receiving numerous wounds, was always triumphant in the end. The third king, Jīvitagupta, is eulogised likewise in a very conventionalised figurative language. His enemies, whether dwelling on the sea-shore "covered with the branches of plantain trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra palms"[1] or else in the Himalayan region, always stood in dread of him. Kumāragupta, the king next in line of succession, is referred to have defeated the Maukhari king Īśānavarman "as very moon" among kings and in the context of his campaigns there is reference to "plantain trees that were wantonly shaken to and fro by the roaring wind".[2] It is further recorded that the king went to Prayāga where he 'honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) with dry cow-dung cakes'[3]. Kumāragupta's son and successor Dāmodaragupta is also said to have defeated his enemies, particularly the Maukharis whose elephant arrary had defeated the Hūṇas. It is also recorded that the king fell down unconscious in the battle-field and was awakened by the *suravadhūs*, perhaps

1. *CII*, III, 205.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *CII*, III, 206.

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indicating that he died in battle. About his charitable acts, it has been recorded that he gave away in marriage hundred youthful daughters of virtuous Brāhmaṇas, endowing them with many ornaments and also dowering them with the *agrahāra* grants. Mahāsenagupta, the king next in line, is eulogised for his valour and a particular mention is made of his victory over the illustrious Susthitavarman and of his fame still being sung on the banks of Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). His successor, Mādhavagupta, also comes in for high praise for his valour and charitable disposition and special mention has been made of his association with Harṣadeva.[1]

Mādhavagupta's son and successor, **Ādityasena,** has been eulogised for many qualities of head and heart and is also referred to as a great warrior and military leader who defeated many of his enemies.

The inscription then goes on to record the construction of an excellent temple of Viṣṇu by this king, of a religious college by his mother *Mahādevī* **Śrīmatī**, and of a tank by his queen **Koṇadevī.**[2] Then follows the conventional pious wish that Ādityasena's fame may last for ever. At the close, it is recorded that the inscription was composed (or engraved) by Sūkṣmaśiva, a native of the Gauḍa country.

---

1. I.e. Harṣa Puṣpabhūti.
2. Śrīmatīdevī and Koṇadevī are the only queens mentioned in this inscription. Their names come up for mention in the narrative of the acts of charity, and not in the genealogical part of the epigraph.

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3. MANDAR HILL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ĀDITYASENA

Provenance : Mandar or Mandaragiri, Bhagalpur District, Bihar.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 211-12. For other references, Fleet, *op. cit.*, and Bhandarkar's list no. 1553.

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* second half of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT[1]

[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [॥*] परमभट्टारकमह[ा]र[ा]जा[ि]धर[ा]ज-

२. श्री**आ**[3]**दित्यसेनदेव**दयित[ा] परम-

३. भट्टारिक[ा]र[ा]ज्ञी]मह[ा]द[ ]व[ी]श्री[**को**]**णद**[ ]**व**[ी]

४. पुष्करिणीकीर्त्तिमिम[ा]ङ्क[ा][ि]रतव[ती][॥*]

[2]

१. सिद्धम्[॥*]परमभट्टारकमह[ा]र[ा]ज[ा]धिराजश्री[4]**आदित्यसेनदेव** द[ि]यता

२. परमभट्टारिक[ा]र[ा]ज्ञीमहाद[ ]वी**श्रीक**[ी]**णद**[ ]**वी** पुष्करिणीकीर्त्तिमि-म[ा]ङ्कारितवती[॥*]

ABSTRACT

These two epigraphs, bearing the same text, are undated. Each of these records the construction of a tank[5] by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Ādityasena**'s[6] Queen, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*[7] **Koṇadevī**.

1. After Fleet in *CII*, with the exception that we have substituted सिद्धम् for ओम्.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Read श्र्यादित्य°
4. Read श्र्यादित्य°
5. It is not clear whether the two epigraphs refer to the construction of two different tanks or to that of one and the same tank. *Kīrtti* means an act which would make its performer famous.
6. It is generally held that these inscriptions are of a later date than the Aphsad and the Shahpur inscriptions of Ādityasena, as paramount titles affixed to the name of the ruler occurring in these two epigraphs are not met with in them (*CII*, III, p. 211).
7. Female counterpart of the title *paramabhaṭṭāraka*.

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4. MANGRAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIṢṆUGUPTA

Provenance : Mangraon, Shahabad District, Bihar.

References : Altekar, *EI*, XXVI, 241-46 and plate; P. Banerjee, *JBRS*, XXX, 1944, 199-202.

Language : Sanskrit. In prose, except one verse.

Metre : Verse 1 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : Regnal year 17, Śrāvaṇa, bright fortnight, 2nd day. Early eighth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*] महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री**विष्णुगुप्तदेव** प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य-

२. **सम्व (संव) त्सरे सप्तदशे सम्व (संव) त्**[3] **१०७ श्रावण शुदि २** चुन्दस्कीलातपोवन-

३. प्रतिष्ठितश्रीभित्रकेशवदेवप्रतिव (ब) द्धपुष्पपट्टे स्वसिद्धान्ताभिरत[4] अने-

४. कशिवसिद्धायतनतीर्थावगाह्य पवित्रीकृततनुः कुटुक्क[5]देशी-

५. य[6] **अविमुक्तज्जः**[7] अङ्गारग्रामके सकलकुटुम्बि (म्बि) नां सकाशादाचन्द्रा-

६. र्कक्षितिसमकालीनं तैलस्य पलमेकमुपक्रीय भगवतः

७. श्रीसुभद्रेश्वरदेवस्य प्रदीपार्थं प्रतिपादितवान् ।। एवं यो [ऽ*] न्यथा

८. करोति यदत्रापयंस्तनदवाप्नोतीति[8] ।।

लिखिता देवदत्तेन

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1. From plate in *EI*, XXVI.
2. Expressed by a symbol. Altekar takes the symbol for ॐ.
3. The shape of त् is peculiar and resembles the figure for 100 on some Gupta silver coins. Altekar was tempted to read 100 107, but rightly dropped the idea.
4. Read °भिरतोऽनेक.
5. Banerjee : कुट्टुक°.
6. Read देशीयोऽवि°.
7. Read °मुक्तज्जोऽङ्गार° Banerjee reads अविमुक्तज्ञाः.
8. The text, as pointed out by Altekar, is defective. He would prefer to amend the text into यदत्र पापं स तदवाप्नोति; and considers योत्रापायस्स तमवाप्नोति as less likely. Banerjee reads पायन्तावद°.

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९. संक्षिप्ता क्रयचीरिका ।
उत्कीर्णा सूत्रधारेण कुलादित्येन धीमता ॥ [१॥*]

ABSTRACT

This epigraph, dated the **second day of the bright fortnight of the month Srāvaṇa, in the 17th (regnal) year** of *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* **Viṣṇugupta,**[1] records a donation made by **Avimuktajja,** a Śaiva devotee hailing from Kuṭukka-deśa[2] who had visited several Śaiva *tīrthas* and was then sojourning in the garden attached to the temple at Cundaskīlā[3] *tapovana.* The donation made a provision of one *pala* oil to be supplied for burning of a lamp in perpetuity in the temple of Subhadreśvara,[4] located in the village of Aṅgāra.[5]

There is also a warning that whoever disturbed the arrangement would be commiting a great sin. The epigraph, labelled as *krayacīrikā*[6], was composed by one Devadatta and engraved by Kulāditya, the Mason.

1. On palaeographic grounds, Viṣṇugupta of the epigraph should be identified with the Later Gupta ruler of that name, grandson of Ādityasena and son of Devagupta.
2. It is difficult to identify Kuṭukkadeśa. If, as Altekar points out, it is taken as the word Kukkuṭadeśa mis-spelt, it may refer to Gaya region as a hill near Gaya is referred to as Kukkuṭapādagiri (Altekar. *EI*, XXVI, 244). Chakravarti, however, points out in his editorial note (*ibid.*) that Kuṭakadeśa is mentioned in the *Bhāgavatp Purāṇa* (*Skandha* 3, Chap. 6) and has been identified with Gadag in the Dharwar district. In that case Avimuktajja, a well travelled person, made the endowment while on a pilgrimage to the holy shrine.
3. In all probability he made a permanent deposit (*akṣayanīvi*) with the village *pañcāyat* for this purpose. See *supra*, p. 113.
4. The village Aṅgāra, as suggested by Altekar, should be identified with Mangraon itself where the epigraph was found or with the neighbouring village Sangraon where a modern Śaiva temple stands on ancient mound. (Altekar is of the view that the present-day Śaiva temple has been built over Subhadreśvara temple of our record).
5. Cundaskīlā has been identified with the present-day village Chhuni, six miles north-west of Mangraon (*EI*, XXVI, 245). Banerjee translates the passage as—"to be placed on the slab of flowers attached to (the temple of) the iliustrious Mittra-Keśava established in the hermitage at Cundaskīlā. Misfortune will overtake one who acts to the contrary".
6. As pointed out by B. Ch. Chhabra, *EI*, XXVI, 246, n. 8 (editorial note), *cīrikā* and its variant *ciṭhikā* (Hindi *ciṭṭhī*) have been used in the sense of document in the *Lekhapad-dhati*. Banerjee, however, translates *krayacīrikā* as 'short cloth of the deed of purchase" (*JBRS*, XXX, 202).

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5. KAULESVARI INSCRIPTION OF VIṢṆUGUPTA

Provenance : Kaulesvari[1] Hill, Hazaribagh District, Bihar.
Reference : D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXX, 84f.
Language : Sanskrit, prose.
Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.
Date : Early eighth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम् ।[।*] परमभट्टारकमहारा[जाधिराज]परमेश्वरश्रीविष्णुगु.....
२. व्ये पोयराजस[त्र][2](त्रम्) [।।*]

ABSTRACT

The epigraph, beginning with *Siddham* refers to a *satra* (*sattra*) named after one **Poyarāja**[3] [during the reign of] *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Viṣṇugupta**].

1. After Sircar in *EI*, XXX. He has not published facsimile of the epigraph.
2. According to Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *Satra* (*Sattra*) means 'a great Soma sacrifice', 'any meritorious work equivalent to the performance of a *Sattra*,' 'house', 'asylum,' 'hospital', 'tank', 'munificence' etc.
3. He was probably a feudatory of king Viṣṇugupta.

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6. DEO BARANARK INSCRIPTION OF JĪVITAGUPTA II

[PLATE XV]

Provenance : Deo Baranark, Shahabad District, Bihar.

References : Cunningham, *ASR*, XVI, 68 and 73f. (contains reading of the text by Bhagwanlal Indraji), plates XXV and XXVI; Fleet, *CII*, III, 213f., plate XXIXB; R. C. Majumdar, *IC*, XI, 123f.; D.C. Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 69f.; Bhandarkar's list no. 1554 (for references only).

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : First half of the eighth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. .....[2][न]मः[।।*]स्वरित शक्तित्रयोपात्त जयशब्दान्महानौहा(ह)स्त्यश्वपत्तिसम्भार दुर्निवाराज्जयस्कन्धावारात् **गोमतिकोट्टक**समीपवास-

२. [कात्].....[3][श्रीमाधव]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राज्ञ्य महादेव्यां श्रीश्रीमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतः श्रीआदित्य[4][से]-

३. [नदेवस्तस्य]पु[त्र]स्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राज्ञ्यां महादेव्यां श्रीकोण-द[ ]व्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहार[।]ज[।]-

४. [धिराजपरमेश्वर]श्रीद[ ]वगुप्तद[ ]वस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारिकाया[*]राज्ञ्या[*]महादेव्या[*]श्रीकमलदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहे-

५. श्वरपरमभट्टारकम]हाराजा[धि]राजपरमेश्वरश्रीविष्णुगुप्तदेवस्तस्यपुत्रस्तत्पादानु-ध्यातः परमभट्टारिकाया[*] राज्ञ्या[*]महादेव्या[*]श्रीइज्जा[5]दे[व्या]-

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1. From plate in *CII*, III.
2. Bhagwanlal Indraji supplied वरुणवासि भट्टारकाय here. But Fleet holds that 'only about five *akṣaras*, or at the most six appear to have been destroyed' (*CII*, III, 215 n).
3. Fleet suggests that some sectarian title of Mādhavagupta must have been destroyed here; but adds that there seems hardly room enough for परमभागवत or परममाहेश्वर.
4. Read श्र्यादित्य.
5. Read श्रीज्जा°.

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६. [मुत्पन्नः परम.....[1]परम]भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री**जीवित**[2]**गुप्तदेव**[:*] कुशली नगरभ[ु]क्तौ वालवीवैषयिकश्रीवा(?वो)...

७. .....पद्र(?)लिक्ष(?)न्तष्पातिव[ा*]रुणिकाग्रामगोष्ठ[ा]न(?)कुलतला-वाटकदूतसीमकर्मकरमद्या(?)

८. .....[समुपागतान्सव्वानेव*][राजराजा]नकराजपुत्रराजामत्त्र(मात्य) महा[कार्त्ता*] कृतिकमहादण्डनायकमहाप्रतीहारमहासा-

९. [मन्तमहादौःसाधसाधनिक*]प्रमातृसर[भङ्ग*]कुमारामात्यराजस्थानीयोपरिक... ...[दाशापरा*]धिकचौरोद्धरणिकदाण्डिकद[ा*]ण्ड-

१०. [पाशिक*].....[तदायुक्तकविनियुक्त*]क[हस्त्यश्वो]ष्ट्रबलव्यापृत[क*]किशोर-वडवागोमहि[ष्य][धिकृत*]दूत[प्रैष*]णिकग[मा*]गमिकग्र-

११. [भित्वरमान][विषय*]पति[चाटभट*]सेवका[दीनन्यांश्चाकीर्त्ति]ता[न*]स्मत्पा-दप्रसादोपजीविनश्च प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरा[न्*]महत्तरकुटुम्बिपुरो-

१२. [गान् मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवतां*]विज्ञापितं श्रीवरुणवासि-भट्टारकप्रतिबद्धभोजकश्रीसूर्य्यमित्त्रेण उपरिलिखि[3]-

१३. [त]...ग्रामादिसंयुतं परमेश्वरश्रीवा(बा)लादित्यदेवेन स्वशासनेन भगवश्री[4]वरुण-वासिभट्टारक...

१४. .....क...वपरिवा(?)हक...भोजकहन्स(हंस)मित्त्रस्य समापत[त्*]या यथाकालाध्या-सिभिश्च एवं परमेश्वर

१५. श्रीशर्व्ववर्म्म.....भोजकरि(ऋ)षिमित्त्र.....यतकं एवं[5] परमेश्वरश्री[म*]दवन्ति-वर्म्मणा पूर्व्वदत्तकमवल-

१६. [म्य].....एवं मह[ा*]रा[जाधिरा*]जपरमेश्वर.....शासनदानेन भोजकदुर्द्ध(?)र(?)मित्त्रस्यानुमो-

१७. [दित].....ते(?)न(?)भु(?)ज्यते(?)[।।*] तदहम्कि(हंकि)मपि(?)..... एवं...मतिमान्...अनुपा(मो)दितमिति स(?)र्व्वसमाज्ञाप(?)ना(!)[।।*]एता...

१८. .....पयु.....वरुणवास्यायतनं तदनु दत्तां.....

१९. .....त्यक्ष.....सोद्रङ्ग सोपरिकरं सदशापराधपञ्च...

२०. .....[।।*].

1. In all probability it contained भागवत or माहेश्वर.
2. Bhagwanlal Indraji : सवितृ; but see Fleet.
3. For reconstruction of text of lines 8-12, see Sircar, *JRASBL*, XI, 73-74.
4. Read भगवच्छ्री.
5. Read यतकमेव.

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ABSTRACT

This inscription of **Jīvitagupta II** issued from **Gomatikoṭṭaka**[1] is undated and fragmentary. The epigraph records the reconfirmation of the grant of village Vāruṇikā[2] in *Vālavī viṣaya* of Nagara *bhukti* to the shrine of Sun god (referred to as Varuṇavāsin)[3]. It furnishes the following genealogy of the Later Gupta rulers from Mādhavagupta to Jīvitagupta II :

Mādhavagupta	=	Śrīmatī
Ādityasena	=	Koṇadevī
Devagupta	=	Kamaladevī
Viṣṇugupta	=	Ijjādevī
Jīvitagupta(II)		

The epigraph also mentions the names of three earlier rulers, viz. Bālāditya (generally identified with Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya of the Imperial Gupta dynasty), Śarvavarman [Maukhari] and Avantivarman [Maukhari], who had confirmed the grant of the village to the Sun god. The names of the four *bhojakas*, viz. Sūryamitra, Haṁsamitra, Ri(Ṛ)ṣimitra and Durddharamitra(?) who were priests of the Sun temple during the rule of Bālāditya, Śarvavarman, Avantivarman and Jīvitagupta (II) respectively, too come for mention. Quite a few officials of different categories[4] find mention in the document (a considerable part of its text has been reconstructed on the basis of other epigraphs). These are :-

"*goṣṭhānakula, talāvāṭaka, dūta, sīmakarmakara, rājarājanaka, rājaputra, rājāmātya, mahākārttākṛtika, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahāpratīhāra, mahāsāmanta, mahādauḥsādhasādhanika, pramāṭṛ, sarabhaṁga, kumārāmātya, rājasthānīya, uparika, dāśāparādhika, cauroddharaṇika, dāṇḍika, dāṇḍapāśika, tadāyuktaka, viniyuktaka, hastyaśvoṣṭrabalavyāpṛtaka, kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣyadhikṛta, dūta-praiṣaṇika, gamāgamika, viṣayapati, cāṭa, bhaṭa* and *sevaka*.

1. Fleet opines that Gomatikoṭṭaka 'the fort whence the charter was issued, must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gomati...' (*CII*, III, 215).
2. The view (based on the tentative reading of Fleet) that the village granted was Kiśoravāṭaka should be rejected in view of Sircar's corrected reading (*supra*). Vāruṇikā is evidently the ancient name for Deo Baranark (Deva+B(V)aruṇārka). The expression Baranark i.e. Varuṇārka embodies the attributes of the Sun with those of Varuṇa. Incidentally, Varuṇa himself was originally looked upon as one of the twelve Ādityas (see *CII*, III, 214-215).
3. For Varuṇavāsin, see *supra*, pp. 124-25.
4. The nature and functions of these officials have been discussed in the chapter 'Polity and Administration'.

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7. KATRA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF JĪVAGUPTA

[PLATE XVI and XVIA]

Provenance : Katra, Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.

Reference : D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXV, 125f. and plate facing p. 130.

Language : Sanskrit. In prose, except three verses.

Metre : Verses 1-3 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : *Circa* second quarter of the eighth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [॥*]स्वस्ति [॥*]**तारा**[3]वासितश्रीजयस्कन्ध[ा]वारात्परममाहेश्वरस्य श्रीमत्ता[रा]-

२. भट्टारिकायामुत्पन्नस्य परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजप-

३. रमेश्वरश्रीरामगुप्तदेवस्य पुत्रः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीरासाभ-

४. ट्टारिकायामुत्पन्नः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-

५. **जीवगुप्तदेवो** लघुः कुशली[॥]
यद्यशो विमलम्वी(लंवी)क्ष्य स्वकम्व(कं व)पुरय[4][*]

६. शशी[5][।*]
संपूर्णं शनकैर्द्धते लज्य(ज्ज)येवार्जुन(नो)वीवु ।[6] [।१॥*]
तीरभुक्तौ चामुण्ड[ा]

७. विषये पूर्व्वोत्तरतिष्ि[ट]हलपाटके सुरभात्रे याम्[या]यां हरिग्रामके[च*]

८. महासान्धिविग्रहिकाक्षपटलिकसर्व्वाधिकारिकप्रतीह(हा)र-

९. सेनापतिमहासामन्तप्रभृतीन्निवासिनश्च जनपदान्वो(न्वो)धय-

१०. ति समाज्ञापयति[च ॥*] विदितमस्तुभवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्राम[ा][:*]

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1. From plate in *EI*, XXXV. The last three lines are on the back side.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. The reading could well be नारा°.
4. य is written below the line.
5. There is 7-like mark above श.
6. Sircar suggests that the reading intended seems to be विधुः.

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११. सजलस्थल(लाः)साम्रमधूक(काः)सगर्त्त्व(र्त्तो)षर(राः) स्वसोमापर्यन्त(न्ताः) स

१२. स[स्सु(र्व)]पल्लिक(काः) सलोहलवणाकर(राः) सोद्द्रङ्ग(ङ्गाः) सोद्देश(शाः) समस्त[रा]-

१३. जप्रत्यादायसमेता [याव*]दाचन्द्रार्क्ककक्षितिसमकालमस्माभि[:]स्ना-

१४. त्वा विष[ष्णु]वति पित्त्रोः पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये चामुण्डाभट्टारिका

१५. .....प्रतिष्ठापितको[ऽ*][त्र]प्रतिवार्ा[स]न्यास्सप[र][भा]

१६. .....पूज[ा]स[ ]स्क[ा][रा][र्थे]

१७. .....सनत्वेन[1]प्रदत्त(त्ता)इति ।[।*]

१८. .....सिभिश्च[2] प्रत्यादाया

१९. .....देशः[3] [।।*] **सं २ चैत्र[सु]दि**...

२०. व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा[भुक्ता]राजभिः सगरादिभि[:।*]
र्य(य)[स्य]यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य त-

२१. स्य तदा[4] फलं(लम्)।[।२।।*]
स्वदत्ता[म्]परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्।)
स विष्ठायां

२२. [क्रि]मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ।[।३।।*]

ABSTRACT

The epigraph begins with the symbol for *siddham* followed by the word *svasti* and was issued from the victory camp called **Tārā**. The donor is king **Jīvagupta**, son of Rāmagupta and queen Rāmābhaṭṭārikā. **Jīvagupta** is called *laghu*, i.e. younger, and both he and his father hold the litles *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* and are referred to as *paramamāheśvaras* (i.e. Śaivas).

Though partially mutilated, the text records the grant of three villages, viz. Surabhākra, Yāmyā and Harigrāmaka, situated in the north-eastern part of Tiṣṭihalapāṭaka in the Cāmuṇḍā *viṣaya* of Tīrabhukti,[5] by king **Jīvagupta**,

1. Sircar suggests ताम्रशासनत्वेन.
2. Sircar restores निवासिनश्च.
3. Sircar restores स्वसुखादेशः.
4. The letter दा is below the line.
5. The geographical names Surabhākra, Yāmyā, Harigrāmaka, Tiṣṭihalapāṭaka, and Cāmuṇḍāviṣaya cannot be identified. Tīrabhukti, which also finds mention in other epigraphs, is ancient name of modern Tirhut division.

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on Viṣuvat Saṅkrānti day, in favour of goddess Cāmuṇḍā, for the merit of his parents. The localities were granted on permanent basis with the rights over all sorts of land, water resources, different classess of trees, mines of salt and metal together with all dues payable to king. The grant was addressed to royal officers as well as inhabitants of donated villages. The officers mentioned in this context are : *mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *akṣapaṭalika*, *sarvādhikārika*, *pratihāri*, *senāpati* and *mahāsāmanta*.[1]

The epigraph is dated..... **day, bright fortnight of Caitra, year 2.** At the end occur two verses, the first eulogising the merit of granting land and the second pointing to the demerits of taking away the donated land.

1. The probable nature and functions of these officers have been discussed in chapter 'Polity and Administration'.

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III

Inscriptions of the Puṣpabhūtis

1. BANSKHERA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF HARṢA

[PLATE XVII]

Provenance : Banskhera, Shahjahanpur District, Uttar Pradesh.

References : Bühler, *EI*, IV, 208-11 and plate; Bhandarkar's list no. 1385 (for references only).

Language : Sanskrit, prose interspersed with three verses.

Metre : Verse 1 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 2 : *Vasantatilaka*; Verse 3 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : Year 22 [Harṣa era=628 A.D.], Kārttika, dark fortnight, 1st day.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] महानौहस्त्यश्वजयस्कन्धावाराच्छ्रीवर्द्धमानकोट्या महाराज-
श्रीनरवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातश्श्रीवज्रिणीदेव्यामुत्पन्न⌒परमादित्यभक्तो
महाराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-

२. ध्यातश्श्रीमदप्सरोदेव्यामुत्पन्न⌒परमादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीमदादित्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य
पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातश्श्रीमहासे [न] गुप्तादेव्यामुत्पन्नश्चतुस्समुद्रातिक्रान्तकीर्त्ति⌒
प्रतापानुरागोप-

३. नतान्यराजो वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तचक्र एकचक्करथ इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहर⌒
परमादित्यभक्त⌒परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीप्र [भा] करवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा
[दा]-

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1. From plates in *EI*, IV, and Mookerji's *Harsha*.
2. Expressed by a symbol.

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४. नुध्यातस्सितयश⌒प्रतानविच्छुरितसकलभुवनमण्डल⌒परिगृहीतधनदवरुणेन्द्रप्रभृति-
लोकपालतेजास्सत्पथोपार्ज्जितानेकद्रविणभूमिप्रदानसंप्रीणितार्थिहृदयो-

५. [ऽ*]तिशयितपूर्व्वराजचरितो देव्याममलयशोमत्या(त्यां) श्रीयशोमत्यामुत्पन्न⌒-
परमसौगतस्सुगत इव परहितैकरत⌒परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्य-
वर्द्धनः ।[।*]
राजानो युधि दु-

६. ष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवगुप्तादय×
कृत्वा येन कशाप्रहारविमुखास्सर्व्वेसमंसंयताः ।
उत्खाय द्विषतो विजित्य वसुधाङ्कृत्वा प्रजानां प्रियं
प्राणानुज्झितवानरातिभवने सत्यानुरोधेन यः ।[।१॥*]
तस्या-

७. [नुजस्त]त्पादानुध्यात⌒परममाहेश्वरो महेश्वर इव सर्व्वससत्त्वानुकम्पी परम-
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज**श्रीहर्षः** अहिच्छत्राभुक्तावङ्गदीयवैषयिक पश्चिमपथकस-
[म्वद्ध]मर्क्कटसा-[1]

८. गरे [स]मुपगतान्महासामन्तमहाराजदौस्साधसाधनिकप्रमाताररराजस्थानीयकुमारा-
मात्योपरिकविषयपतिभटचाटसेवकादीन्प्रतिवासिजानपदांश्च समाज्ञापयति[॥*]
वि[दि]तम[2]-

९. [स्तु]यथायमुपरिलिखितग्रामस्स्वसीमापर्यन्तस्सोद्रङ्गस्सर्व्वराजकुलाभाव्यप्रत्य[।]यस-
मेतस्सर्व्वपरिहृतपरिहारो विषया[दु]द्धृतपिण्ड⌒पुत्रपौत्रानुगश्चन्द्रार्क्ककक्षितिसमका-

१०. लीनो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन मयापितु⌒परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धन-
देवस्य मातुर्भट्टारिकामहादेवीराज्ञीश्रीयशोमतीदेव्या ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपरमभट्टारक

११. महाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनदेवपादानाञ्चपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये भरद्वाजसगोत्तव(ब)
ह्वृचच्छन्दोगसत्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिभट्टवा(बा)लचन्द्रभद्रस्वामिभ्यां प्रतिग्रहधर्म्म(र्म्मे)-
णाग्रहारत्वेन प्रतिपा-

१२. दितो विदित्वा भवद्भिस्समनुमन्तव्य⌒प्रतिवासि जानपदैरप्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा
यथासमुचिततुल्यमेयभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्याया एतयोरेवोपनेयास्सेवोपस्थान-
[ञ्च]क-

---

1. Bühler is doubtful about the second *k* in र्क्क, but the plate clearly shows it.
2. Bühler [ति विदित]. But of these only दि is not clear.

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१३. रणीयमित्यपि च[1] ।
अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि-
रन्यैश्चदानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं (यम्)।
लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलवु (बु) द्बु (द्बु) दचञ्चलाया
दानं फलं परयश ⌒ परिपालनञ्च ।[।२।।*]
कर्म्मणा म-

१४. नसा वाचा कर्त्तव्यं प्राणिभिहि (हि) तं (तम्)।
हर्षेणतत्समाख्यातन्धर्म्माज्जनमनुत्तमं (मम्) [।।३।।*]
दूतको[ऽ*]त्र महाप्रमातारमहासामन्तश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तः[।।*]महाक्षपटलाधिकरणाधिकृत-
महासामन्तम-

१५. हाराज[भा]न (नु?) समादेशादुत्कीर्ण्णं

१६. ईश्वरेणेदमिति[2] [।।*] **सम्व (संव) त् २० २**

१७. **कार्त्ति व दि**[3] **१** [।।*]

१८. स्वहस्तो मम महाराजाधिराज**श्रीहर्षस्य**[।।*]

ABSTRACT

The grant was issued from the victory camp at Śrī Vardhamānakoṭi in [Harṣa] *saṁvat* **22** (=**628 A.D.**),[4] **Kārttika, first day of the dark fortnight.**

It contains the following genealogy[5] and chronology of the Puṣpabhūti[6] kings :

Mahārāja Naravardhana = Vajriṇīdevī
|
Mahārāja Rājyavardhana = Apsarodevī
|
Mahārāja Ādityavardhana = Mahāsenaguptādevī.
|
Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākaravardhana = Yaśomatī(devī)[7]
|
|——————————|
Mahārājādhirāja Rājyavardhana *Mahārājādhirāja* **Harṣa**[8]

1. Read °मिति [।।*] अपि च ।।
2. Read °कीर्ण्णमीश्वर°.
3. कार्त्ति is an abbreviation for कार्त्तिक, व for व(ब)हुल, and दि for दिवस.
4. See Appendix—'Harṣa Era' *supra*, pp. 75-76.
5. Bāṇa does not give the names of the first three kings of the dynasty and their queens.
6. For the term Puṣpabhūti, see *supra*, p. 52.
7. The *Harṣacarita* gives her name as Yaśovatī.
8. This is the form most commonly met with. For other forms, see *supra*, p. 51n.

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Rājyavardhana I, Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana have the epithet *paramādityabhakta* (most devout worshipper of the Sun);[1] Rājyavardhana II, *paramasaugata* (most devout worshipper of the Buddha);[2] and **Harṣa**, *paramamāheśvara* (most devout worshipper of Maheśvara, i.e. Śiva). The first three kings carry the title of *Mahārāja*, while the last three have the *mahārājādhirāja*.[3]

While queen Yaśomatī has been mentioned with the titles *Paramabhaṭṭārikā mahādevī rājñī*, all the other queens have only *śrī* prefixed to their names.

The epigraph refers to Prabhākaravardhana as a king of widespread fame subjugator of other kings by his prowess, and a promotor of the welfare of the people. Rājyavardhana is eulogised as a ruler of fame, donor of lands, conqueror of Devagupta[4] and other kings, and as one who did what was agreeable to his subjects. He was true to his word and 'gave up his life in the mansion of his foe in consequence of his adherance to promise'.[5]

The grant was issued by **Harṣa** for the merit of his parents and his elder brother, all of whom were dead by that time. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas of Bharadvāja *gotra*—*Ṛgvedī* Bālacandra and *Sāmavedī* Bhadrasvāmī. The village granted was Markaṭasāgara which lay in the western *pathaka* of Aṅgadīya *viṣaya*, Ahicchatrā *bhukti*.

The following categories of state officials[6] were informed to make a note of the order in respect of grant :

> *mahāsāmanta*, *sāmanta*, *mahārāja daussādhasādhanika*, *pramātāra*, *rājasthānīya*, *kumārāmātya*, *uparika*, *viṣayapati*, *bhaṭa*, *cāṭa* and *sevaka*.

Specific mention has been made in the epigraph of the taxes due to the king which thenceforth were to be paid to the two Brāhmaṇa donees. The taxes[7] mentioned are : (i) *udraṅga*, (ii) *tulyameya*, (iii) *bhāga*, (iv) *bhoga*, (v) *kara*, (vi) *hiraṇya*. The donees were exempted from paying any taxes.

---

1. The *Harṣacarita* corroborates the view that Prabhākaravardhana was a devotee of Sun.
2. Not only Hiuen-tsang who was a Buddhist but even Bāṇa who was a follower of Brāhmaṇical faith says that Rājyavardhana was a Buddhist.
3. For the significance of the titles *mahārāja* and *mahārājādhirāja*, see *supra*, pp. 87-88.
4. He has been identified as the king of Mālava. See *supra*, pp. 42-43.
5. For detailed discussion, see Appendix "The Circumstances of Rājyavardhana's Death".
6. For the nature and functions of these officials, see *supra* under 'Polity and Administration'.
7. For the meaning of these and other fiscal terms, see *supra* under 'Socio-Economic Conditions'.

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There are also one imprecatory and one benedictory verses. The *dūtaka* (messenger charged to deliver the order) mentioned in the grant is one *mahā-pramātāra, mahāsāmanta* Śrī Skandagupta.[1] The text of the epigraph was engraved by one Īśvara on the orders of *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta Mahā-sāmanta Mahārāja* Bhāna (Bhānu). The sign manual (line 18) has the name **Harṣa** in the genitive with the title *mahārājādhirāja*, following the expression meaning 'in my own hand'.[2]

1. As suggested by Bühler, this Skandagupta seems to be identical with the homonym mentioned in *HC* (p. 417) as 'the master of elephants' who proferred useful advice to Harṣa on his accession to the throne. The record shows that several titles could be borne by a single official.
2. There is a seal, now completely worn out, soldered to right side of the plate.

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2. MADHUBAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF HARṢA

[PLATE XVIII]

Provenance : Madhuban, Azamgarh District, Uttar Pradesh.

References : Bühler, *EI*, I, 67f.; Kielhorn, *EI*, VII, 155f. and plate; Bhandarkar's list no. 1386 (for references only).

Language : Sanskrit, prose interspersed with three verses.

Metre : Verse 1 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 2 : *Vasantatilaka*; Verse 3 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : Year 25 [Harṣa era=631 A.D.], Mārgaśīrṣa dark fortnight, 6th day.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*] स्वस्ति [।।*] महानौहस्त्यश्वजयस्कन्धावारात्कपित्थिकायाः (या)
महाराजश्रीनरवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीवज्रिणीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्य-
भक्तो

२. महाराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीअ[3]प्सरोदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्य-
भक्तो महाराजश्रीमद (दा) दित्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमहा-

३. सेनगुप्तादेव्यामुत्पन्नश्चतु[4]स्समुद्रातिक्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजा (जो)
वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तचक्र एकचक्करथ इव प्रजानामर्त्तिहरः

४. परमादित्यभक्तः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-
ध्यातः सितयशः प्रतानविच्छुरितसकलभुवनमण्डलः परिगृहीत-

५. धनदवरुणेन्द्रप्रभृतिलोकपालतेजाः सत्पथो पार्ज्जितानेकद्रविण[5]भूमिप्रदानसम्प्रीणितार्थि-
हृदयो [ऽ*] तिशयितपूर्व्वराजचरितो देव्याममलयशोमत्यां

---

1. From plate in *EI*, VII.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. श्र्यप्सरो°.
4. Originally the scribe engraved °त्पन्नःश्चतु, but later realising mistake struck out *visarga*.
5. As remarked by the editor of the plate, it looks as if the engraver had tried to remove the vowel *i*.

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६. श्रीयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमसौगतः सुगत इव परहितैकरतः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
राजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनः[1] [।।*]
राजानो युधि दुष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवागुप्ता-

७. दयः
कृत्वा येन कशाप्रहारविमुखाः सर्व्वे समं संयताः [।*]
उत्खाय द्विषतो विजित्य वसुधां कृत्वा प्रजानां प्रियं
प्राणानुज्झितवानरातिभवने सत्यानुरोधेन यः [।।१।।*]
तस्यानुज-

८. स्तत्पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरो महेश्वर इव सर्व्वसत्[त्]वानुकम्पी परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराज**श्रीहर्षः** श्रावस्तीभुक्तौ कुण्डधानीवैषयिकसोमकुण्डकाग्रामे[2]

९. समुपगतां(तान्) महासामन्तमहाराजदौस्साधसाधनिकप्रमातारराजस्थानीयकुमारा-
मात्योपरिकविषयपतिभटचाटसेवकादीन्प्रतिवासिजनपदा(दां)श्चसमा-

१०. ज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः सम्वि(संवि)दितं(त)मयं सोमकुण्डकाग्रामो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवामरथ्येन
कूटशासनेन भुक्तक इति विचार्य यतस्तच्छासनं भङ्क्त्वा तस्मादाक्षिप्य च स्वसीमा

११. पर्यन्तः सोद्रङ्गः सर्व्वराजकुलाभाव्यप्रत्यायसमेतः सर्व्वपरिहृतपरिहारो विषयादुद्धृत-
पिण्डः पुत्रपौत्रानुगः[3] चन्द्रार्क्ककक्षितिसमकालीनो

१२. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन मया पितुः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनदेवस्य
मातुः परमभट्टारिकामहादेवीराज्ञीश्रीयशोमतीदेव्याः

१३. ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनदेवपादानां च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
सावर्णिसगोत्रच्छन्दोगसब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिभट्टवातस्वामि-

१४. विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रव(ब)ह्वृचसब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिभट्टशिवदेवस्वामिभ्यां प्रतिग्रहधर्म्म(र्म्मे)
णाग्रहारत्वेन प्रतिपादितः विदित्वा भवद्भिः समनुमन्तव्यःप्रति-

१५. वासिजनपदैरप्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा यथासमुचिततुल्यमेयभागभोगकरहिरण्यादि-
प्रत्यायाः(या) अनयोरेवोपनेयाः सेवोपस्थानं च करणीयमित्य-[4]

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1. The *r* is not clearly shown as a separate letter.
2. As pointed out by Kielhorn, originally सोमकुण्डका was engraved and later on *i mātrā* was struck out.
3. Read पौत्रानुगश्च.
4. Read करणीयमिति [।।*]अपि च ।।

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१६. पि च ॥
अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि-
रन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं (यम्)।
लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबु (बु) द्बु (द्बु) दचंचलायाः (या)
दानं फलं परयशः परिपालनं च ।[।२॥*]१
कर्मणा

१७. मनसा वाचा कर्त्तव्यं प्राणिने हितं (तम्) [।*]
हर्षेणतस (त्स) मारख्यातं धर्म्मार्ज्जनमनुत्तमं (मम्)॥[३॥*]
दूतको[ऽ*]त्र महाप्रमातारमहासामन्तश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तः[॥*]
महाक्षपटलाधिकरणाधि-

१८. कृतसामन्तमहाराजेश्वरगुप्तसमादेशाच्चोत्कीर्ण
गुर्ज्जरेण [॥*] **सम्व (संव) त् २० ५ मार्ग्गशीर्ष व दि**[2] **६**[॥*]

ABSTRACT

The text of this copper-plate begins with the traditional *siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti*. It was issued from camp of victory, **Kapitthikā**[3] by name, and is dated the **sixth day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa [Harṣa]** *saṁvat* **25** (=**631** A.D.).

Its object was to record the grant of the village Somakuṇḍakā, situated in the *viṣaya* of Kuṇḍadhānī in the Śrāvastī *bhukti*:[4] to Sāmavedī Bhaṭṭa Vātasvāmin of Sāvarṇi *gotra* and the Ṛgvedī Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvāmin of the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra, after taking it away from one Vāmarathya who had been enjoying it on the strength of a forged document (*śāsana*).[5] The village with all its income was granted to the donees and their progeny with full right of inheritance and in accordance with the *bhūmichidranyāya*.[6] The grant was made by **Harṣa** with a view to increasing the merit of his deceased parents and

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1. According to Bühler, this and the following verse were Harṣa's own composition.
2. व (ब) =बहुल; दि=दिवस.
3. Kapitthikā is apparently the Kie-pi-tha (Kapittha) of Hiuen-tsang (Beal, *Records*, I, 202) identified with modern Sankisa (Saṅkāśya), 40 miles north-west of Kanauj.
4. It is clear that Śrāvastī *bhukti* formed part of Harṣa's empire in 631 A.D. Śrāvastī is the modern Sahet-Mahet in the Gonda district of Uttar Pradesh.
5. The inscription would show that forgeries were not uncommon in ancient India. The Smṛtis prescribe due punishments for the forgers of royal grants.
6. I.e. 'maxim concerning land unfit for tillage'.

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brother. The verse lauding Rājyavardhana's achievements and setting out circumstances of his death as also benedictory and imprecatory verses are identical with those in the Banskhera copper-plate inscription.

The portion dealing with the genealogy and chronology of the Puṣpabhūti kings from *Mahārāja* Naravardhana to *Mahārājādhirāja* **Harṣa** is the same as that in the Banskhera copper-plate. Similarly the different officials intimated about the grant as also the taxes to be paid to the donees are the same as in the other grant of **Harṣa**.

The *dūtaka* mentioned in the grant is *Mahāpramātāra Mahāsāmanta Śrī* Skandagupta. The text of the grant was engraved by one Gurjjara[1] on the orders of one *Sāmanta-mahārāja* Īśvaragupta who was also *mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta* ('great chief of the office of records').

1. This name seems to be after the Gurjjara caste.

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3. NALANDA CLAY SEAL OF HARṢA

[PLATE XIX]

Pvovenance : Nalanda, Patna District, Bihar.

References : H. Sastri, *EI*, XXI, 75f. and plate; *MASI*, *66*, 68-69.

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : First half of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] [।।*] महाराजश्रीनर[वर्द्धनस्तस्य*][3] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्या[तः*] श्रीवज्रिणी-

२. देव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभ[क्तो मह*]राजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनः [।।*]तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा-

३. दानुध्यातः श्रीअप्सरोदेव्यामुत्पन्न[4][ःपर]मादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीमदादित्य-

४. वर्द्धनः[।।*]तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्री[महा]सेनगुप्तादेव्यामु[त्प]न्नः चतुःसमु-

५. द्रातिक्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोप[नतान्य]राजो वर्ण्णाश्रम व्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्त-

६. चक्र एकचक्ररथ इव प्रजानामर्त्तिह[रः]परमादित्यभक्तः परमभट्टारक-

७. महाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनः[।।*]तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः अतिशयित-

८. पूर्व्वराजचरितो देव्याममलयशोमत्यां श्रीयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमसौगतः सुग-

९. [त इ]व परहितानुरतः परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीराज्यवर्द्धन[ः।।*]त-

१०. स्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभ[ट्टा]रिकामहादेवी श्रीयशोम[त्यां]दे-

११. व्यामेवोत्पन्नः परममा[हे]श्वरः महेश्वर इव सर्व्वस-

१२. त्वानुकम्पकः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीहर्षः[।।*]

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1. From plate in *EI*, XXI.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. The letters within square brackets have been restored with the help of Banskhera and Madhuban plates.
4. Read श्र्यप्सरो.

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ABSTRACT

The clay seal of **Harṣa**[1] showing bull device, has a legend containing genealogy of the Puṣpabhūti kings along with their titles and epithets which correspond fully with those in the other epigraphs of that ruler.

1. The two fragments of the seal put together make almost a complete one. A few letters in the middle of each line of the text are missing and the proper right part of the upper field has also been lost. The letters in the first seven lines are larger than those in the last five lines. Obviously the reduction of the size of the letters was dictated by the inadequate space left for the remaining portion of the legend. Several fragments of clay seals of Harṣa having identical legend have been unearthed at Nalanda.

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4. SONPAT COPPER SEAL OF HARṢA

[PLATE XX]

Provenance : Sonpat,[1] Sonpat District, Harayana.

References : Fleet, *CII*, III, 231-32, plate XXXIIB.

Language : Sanskrit, prose.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : First half of the seventh century A.D.

ABSTRACT[2]

The legible portions of this very much worn-out epigraph indicates that its first twelve lines tallied with the twelve lines of Harṣa's Nalanda seal, line by line, with the only exception of the omission of *visarga* at the end of the 12th line. The present seal has an additional (13th) line reading *vardhanaḥ*.[3]

1. Also known as Sonepat which is the form met with in the present-day official records.
2. When Fleet (*CII, III*) read the inscription, it was the only epigraph discovered upto that time. Hence he did not have the advantage of comparing it with other well-preserved records which came to light later and so there are a few inaccuracies in his reading of the text.
3. The letters *vardhanaḥ* in the epigraph are smaller in size in relation to others and are cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal(*CII*, III). This is the only record of Harṣa which gives the name 'Harṣavardhana' and not 'Harṣa' for the ruler. Incidentally the *vardhana*-ending is common to all other Puṣpabhūti Kings.

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IV

Inscription of Yaśovarman of Kanauj

NALANDA STONE INSCRIPTION OF YAŚOVARMAN

[PLATE XXI]

Provenance : Nalanda, Patna District, Bihar.

References : Hirananda Sastri, *EI*, XX, 37-46; *MASI*, *66*, 78-82.

Language : Sanskrit. In verse, except the initial symbol and the words *api ca* in line 9.

Metre : Verse 1 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 2 : *Sragdharā*; Verses 3-6 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 7 : *Sragdharā*; Verse 8 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 9 : *Sragdharā*; Verse 10 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 11 : *Vasantatilaka*; Verses 12-15 : *Sragdharā*.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Date : First half of the eighth century A.D.

TEXT[1]

१. सिद्धम्[2] (।।*)
संसारस्थिरव(ब)न्धनात्कृतमतिर्मोक्षाय यो देहिनां
कारुण्यात्प्रसभं शरीरमपि यो दत्वा तुतोषार्थिने[।*]
सेन्द्रैर्यः स्वशिरः किरीटमकरी घृष्टांह्रि-

२. पद्मः सुरै-
स्तस्मै सर्व्वपदार्थतत्व(त्त्व)विदुषे वु(बु)द्धाय नित्यं नमः ।। [१।।*]
सर्व्वेषां मूर्ध्नि दत्वा पदमवनिभृतामुद्गतो भूरिधामा
निस्त्रिंशांशुप्रतानप्रदलितनिखिलारातिघो-

३. रान्धकारः[।*]
ख्यातो यो लोकपालः सकलवसुमतीपद्मिनीवो(बो)धहेतुः
श्रीमान्भास्वानिवोच्चैस्तपति दिशिदिशि श्रीयशोवर्म्मदेवः ।। [२।।*]
तस्यासौ परमप्रसादम-

1. From plate in *EI*, XX.
2. Expressed by a symbol.

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४. हितः श्रीमानुदाराशयः
पुत्रो मार्गपतेः प्रतीततिकिनोदीचीपतेर्मन्त्रिणः [।*]
मालादो भुवि नन्दनो[ऽ*]रिदमनो यो व(ब)न्धुमत्यास्सुधी-
र्दीनाशापरिपूरणै-

५. कचतुरो धीरो विशुद्धान्वयः ।।[३।।*]
यासावूर्जितवैरिभूप्रविगलद्दानाम्वु(म्बु)पानोल्लस-
न्माद्यद्भृङ्गकरीन्द्रकुम्भदलनप्राप्तश्रियाम्भूभुजाम्[।*]
नालन्दा ह-

६. सतीव सर्व्वनगरीः शुभ्राभ्रगौरस्फुर-
च्चैत्यांशुप्रकरैस्सदागमकलाविख्यातविद्वज्जना ।।[४।।*]
यस्यामम्वु(म्बु)धरावलेहिशिखरश्रेणीवि-

७. हारावली
मालेवोर्ध्वविराजिनी विरचिता धात्रा मनोज्ञा भुवः[।*]
नानारत्नमयूखजालखचितप्रासाददेवालया
सद्विद्याधरसङ्घ-

८. रम्यवसतिर्धत्ते सुमेरोः श्रियम् ।।[५।।*]
अत्रास[ह्य]पराक्रमप्रणयिना जित्वाखिलान्विद्विषो
वा(बा)लादित्यमहानृपेण सकलम्भुक्त्वा च भूमण्डलम्[।*]

९. प्रासादः सुमहानयम्भगवतः शौद्धोदनेरद्भुतः
कैलासाभिभवेच्छयेव धवलो मन्ये समुत्थापितः ।।[६।।*]
अपिच ।।
न्यक्कुर्व्वन्निन्दुकान्तिन्तुहिनगि-

१०. रिशिरः श्रेणिशोभान्निरस्यन्
शुभ्रामाकाशगङ्गान्तदनु मलिनयन्मूकयन्वादिसिन्धून् ।
मन्ये जेतव्यशून्ये भुवन इह वृथा भ्रान्तिरित्याक-

११. लय्य
भ्रान्त्वा क्षोणीमशेषाञ्जितविपुलयशस्तम्भ उच्चैस्स्थितो वा ।।[७।।*]
अत्रादायि निवेद्यमाज्यदधिमद्दीपस्तथा भासुर-
श्चातुर्जातकरेणुमिश्रममल-

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१२. न्तोयं सुधाशीतलं (लम्) ।
साध्वी चाक्षयनीविका भगवते बु(बु)द्धाय शुद्धात्मने
मालादेन यथोक्तवंशयशसा तेनातिभक्त्या स्वयं (यम्)॥[८॥*]
आदेशात्स्फीतशीलश्रुतधवलधि-

१३. यो भिक्षु सङ्घस्य भूयो
दत्तन्तेनैव सम्यग्व(ग्ब)हुघृतदधिभिर्व्यञ्जनैर्युक्तर्म(म)न्नं(न्नम्) ।
भिक्षुभ्यस्तच्चतुर्भ्योव(ब)हुसुरभि चतुर्जातकामोदि नित्यं
तोयं स[त्त्रे]विभक्तं पुनरपि

१४. विमलं भिक्षुसङ्घाय दत्तम् ॥[९॥*]
तेनैवाद्भुतकर्म्मणा निजमिहक्रीत्वा[र्यं]सङ्घान्तिका-
न्मुक्त्वा चीवरिकां प्रदाय विधिना सामान्यमेकन्तथा ।
कालम्प्रेरयितुं सुखे-

१५. न लयनन्दत्तं स्वदेशम्वि(शंवि)ना
तेभ्यो नर्द्दरिकावधेश्च परतः शाक्यात्मजेभ्यः पुनः ॥[१०॥*]
दानं यदेतदमलङ्गुणशालिभिक्षु-
पूर्णेन्द्रसेनवचनप्रतिवो(बो)धितेन ।
तेन प्रतीत-

१६. यशसा भुवि निर्म्मलाया
भ्रात्रा व्यधायि शरदिन्दुनिभाननायाः ॥[११॥*]
पित्रोर्भ्रातुः कलत्रस्वसृसुतसुहृदान्तस्य धर्म्मैकधाम्नो
दत्तं दानं यदेतत्सकलमतिरसेनायुरा-

१७. रोग्यहेतोः ।
सर्व्वेषाञ्जन्मभाजां भवभयजलधेः पारसन्तारणार्थं
श्रीमत्सम्वो(म्बो)धिकल्पद्रुमविपुलफलप्राप्तये चानुमोद्यम् ॥[१२॥*]
चन्द्रो यावच्चकास्ति स्फुरदुरुकिरणो लो-

१८. कदीपश्च भास्वान्
एषा यावच्च धात्री सजलधिवलया द्यौश्च दत्तावकाशा ।
यावच्चैते महान्तो भुवनभरधुरान्धारयन्तो महीध्रा-
स्तावच्चन्द्रावदाता धवलयतु दिशाम्म-

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१९. ण्डलं कीर्त्तिरेषा ॥[१३॥*]

यो दानस्यास्य कश्चित्कृतजगदवधेरन्तरायं विदध्या
त्साक्षाद्वज्ज्रासनस्थो जिन इह भगवानन्तरस्थः सदास्ते ।
वा(बा)लादित्येन राज्ञा प्रदलितरि-

२०. पुणा स्थापितश्चैष शास्ता

पञ्चानन्त[र्य]कर्तुर्ग्गतिमतिविषमान्धर्म्महीनः स यायात् ॥[१४॥*]
इत्येवं शीलचन्द्रप्रथितकरणिकस्वामिदत्तावलङ्घ्यां
संङ्घाज्ञां मूर्ध्न कृत्वा श्रुतलव-

२१. विभवावप्यनालोच्य भारं(रम्) ।

हृद्यामेतामुदारां त्वरितमकुरुतामप्रपञ्चां प्रशस्तिं
वाञ्छेतां किन्न पंगू शिखरितरुफलावाप्तिमुच्चैः करेण ॥[१५॥*]

ABSTRACT

The epigraph begins with an invocation to the Buddha who is eulogised as one whom even Indra and other gods offer salutations.

Thereafter **Yaśovarman** is eulogised as an illustrious monarch, handsome of features, and as one who defeated several kings and won widespread fame. Then follows the praise of **Mālāda**, a great favourite of the king and a son of his high official who is referred to as a *mantrin*, *mārgapati* (guardian of frontiers), *udīcīpati* (governor of northern regions) and *pratīta tikin* (i.e. 'lord').

Of special interest in this epigraph is the reference to an extraordinarily towering temple dedicated to Buddha, built by the celebrated (Imperial Gupta) king Bālāditya at Nalanda. The epigraph also refers to the towering *caityas* and *vihāras* matchless in their beauty and grandeur, and also to the great scholars well-known for their pursuit of learning and the arts. It has been put on record that **Mālāda**, with a feeling of deep devotion to the Buddha, brought to the temple built by Bālāditya pure water mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects,[1] a shining lamp, clarified butter and curd. It is further reported that under the orders of the monks he distributed daily rice with various preparations and copious ghee to the monks and also gave them fragrant water and made many endowments. Also recorded is the fact that he bought from the *saṅgha* everything except *cīvarika* (monk's robe) and donated all those articles to it. He also gave to the Buddhist monks "a common dwelling place, (wherein) to spend their time happily, upto the end and beyond *Narddarikā*[2]".

1. The four objects (*caturjāta*) were probably *tvak* (bamboo manna), *elā* (cardamom), *patraka* (laurus cassia) and *nāgakeśara* (*vide Śabdakalpadruma*).
2. See *EI*, XX, 46.

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Special mention is made of **Mālāda's** *guru*, monk Pūrṇendrasena,[1] the main inspiration behind these acts of charity and piety.

It is recorded that the gifts were made to secure long life and prosperity for the parents, near relations and friends of the donee (i.e. **Mālāda**) and a hope is expressed that the act of piety may last for ever and bring enlightenment and salvation to all living beings. Then follows the warning that those who interfere with the fulfilment of the objects of the gift would be guilty of committing five deadly sins, as the Buddha himself would be present there. In the end we are told that the epigraph was composed jointly by Śīlacandra[2] and *karaṇika*[3] Svāmidatta, at the command of the *saṅgha*.

1. He was probably one of the great teachers at Nalanda (*EI*, XX, 42).
2. The reference is perhaps to the Buddha image.
3. I.e. Officer in charge of official documents.

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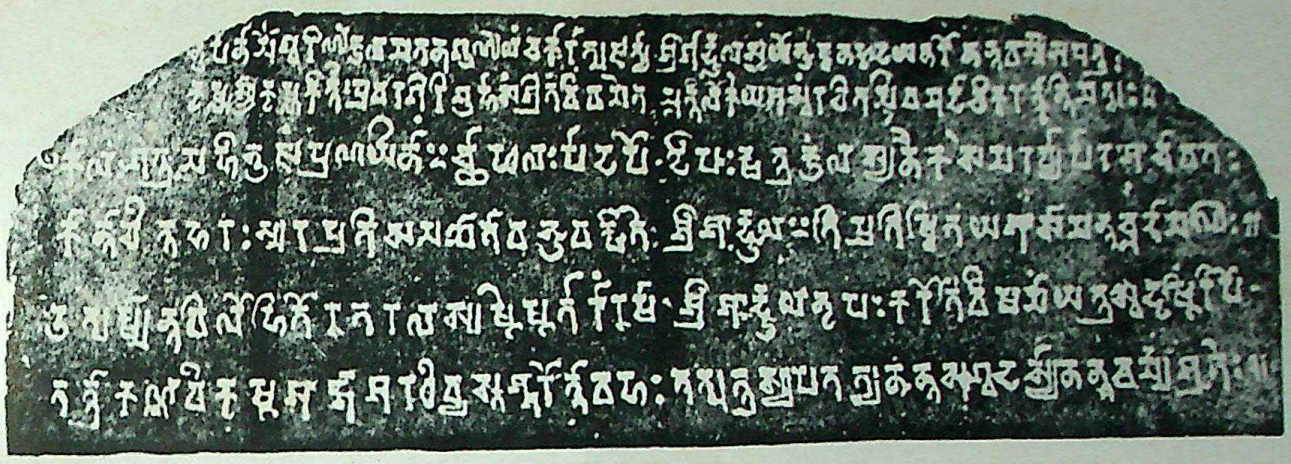

Plate I Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman

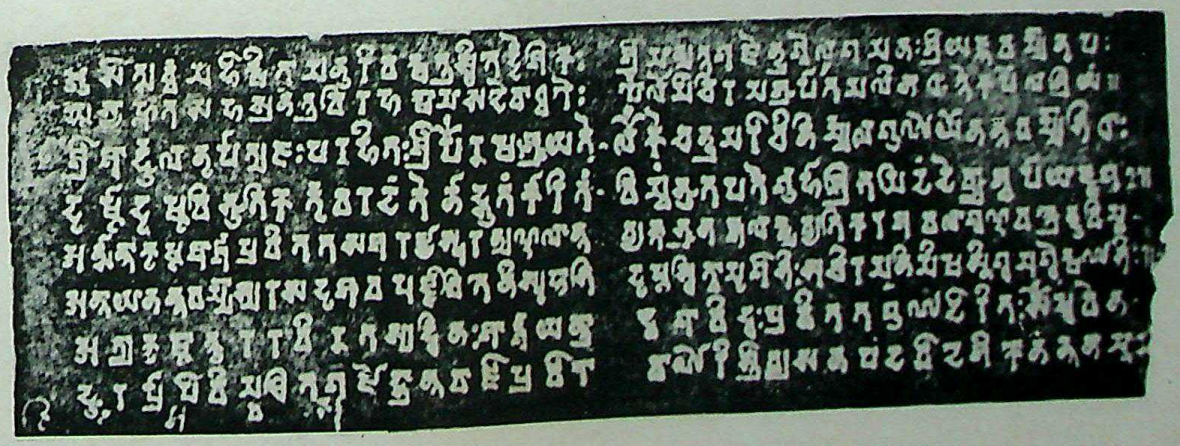

Plate II Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman (no. 1).

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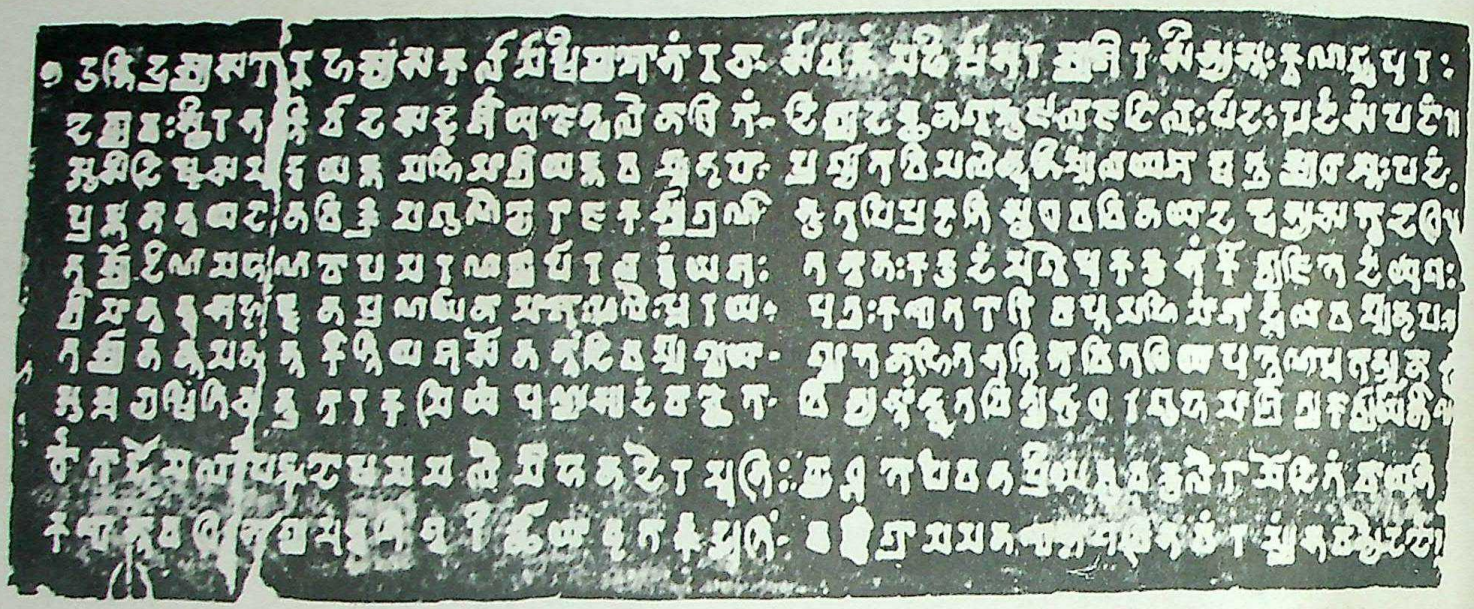

Plate III Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscriptions of Anantavarman (no. 2).

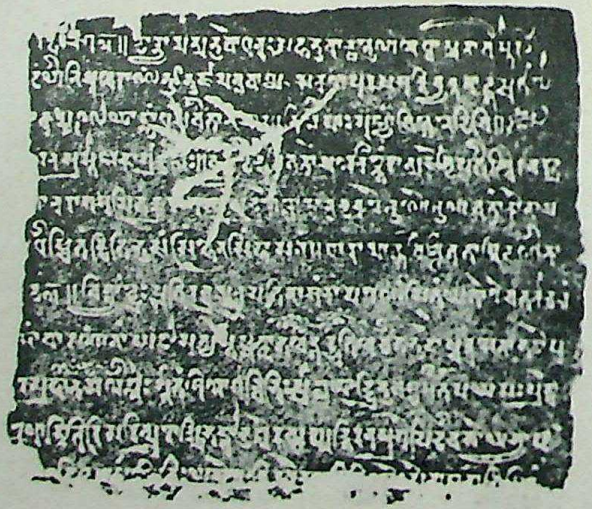

Plate IV Jaunpur Inscription of Iśvararavarman

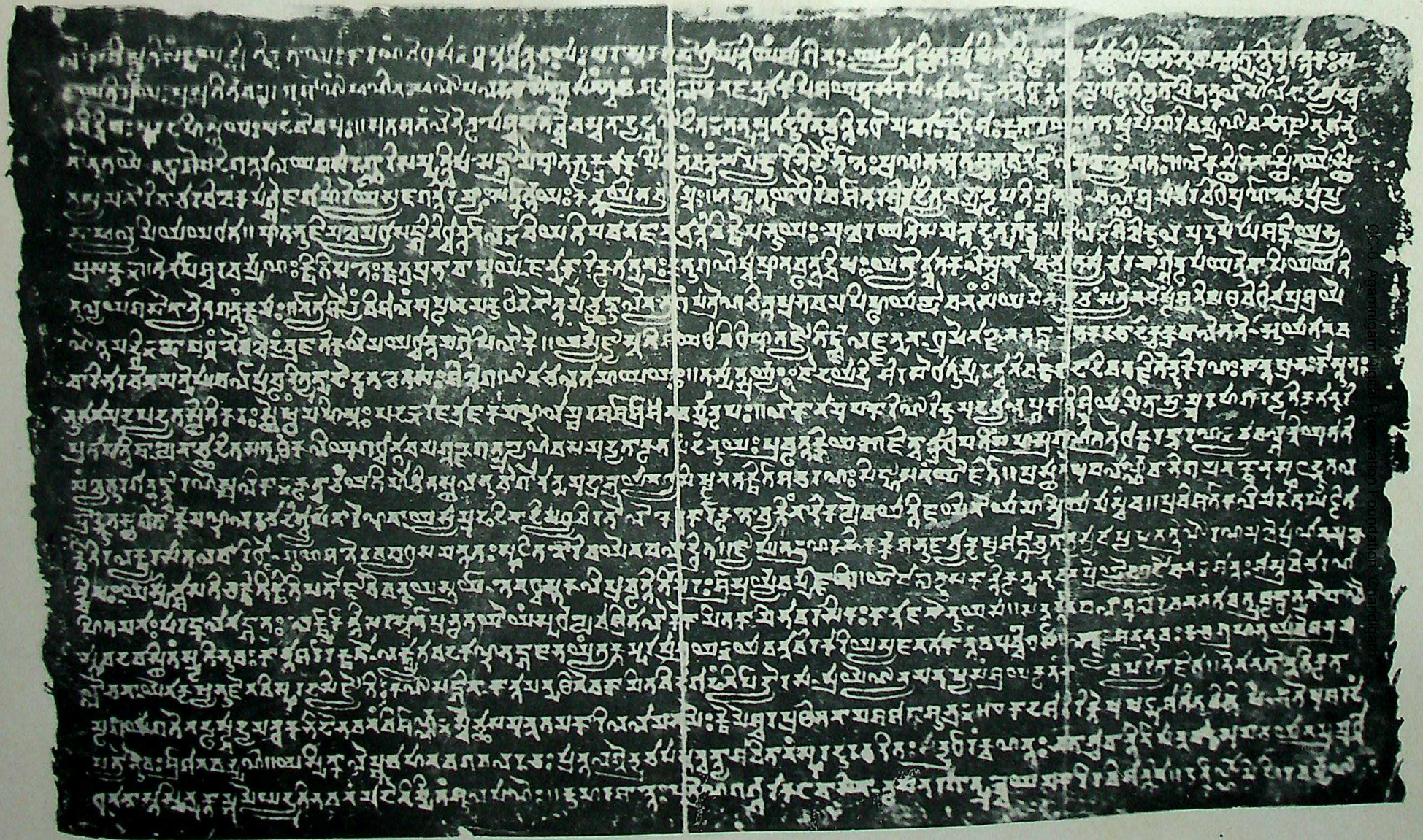

Plate V Haraha Inscription of Īśānaravarman

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Plate VI Asirgadh Copper Seal of Śarvavarman

Plate VII Nalanda Clay Seal of Śarvavarman

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Plate VIIA Nalanda Clay Seal of Śarvavarman

Plate VIII Sohnag Clay Seal of Avantivarman

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Plate IX Nalanda Clay Seal of Avantivarman

Plate X Kanauj Clay Seal of Avantivarman

Plate XA Impression of the Kanauj Seal of Avantivarman

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Plate XI Nalanda Clay Seal of Su-

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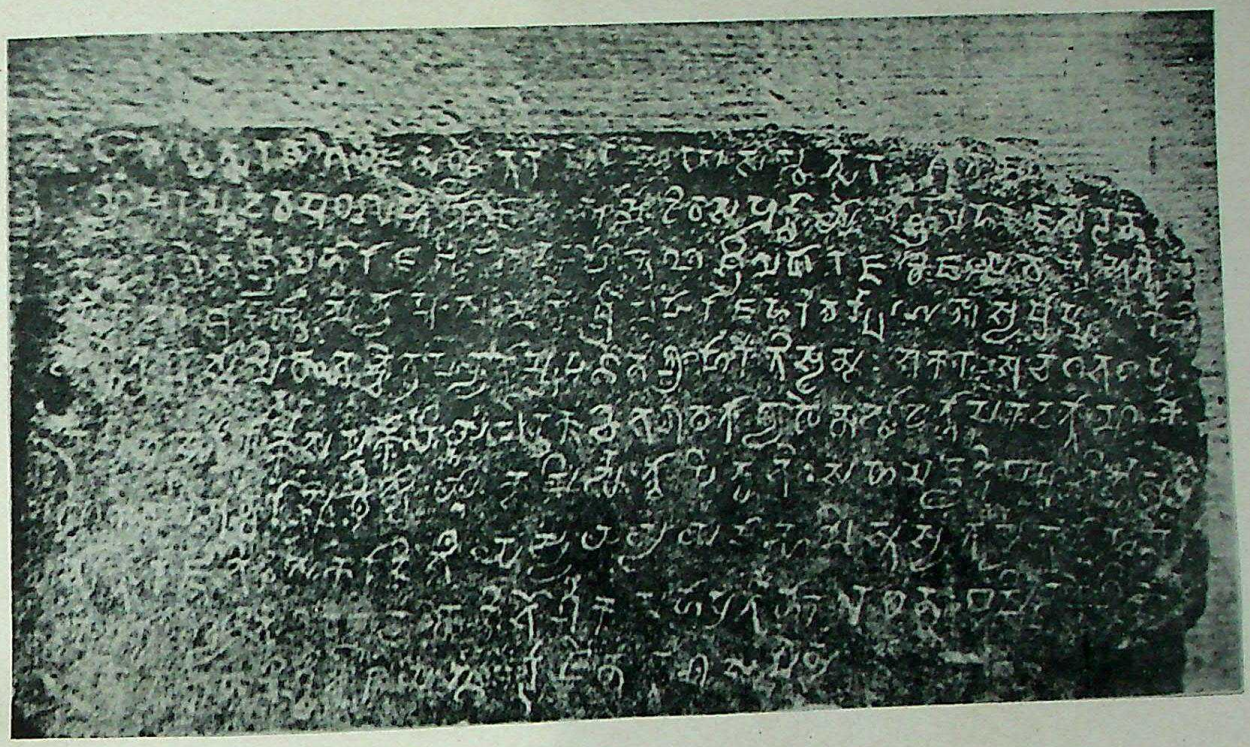

Plate XII Shankarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budhagupta

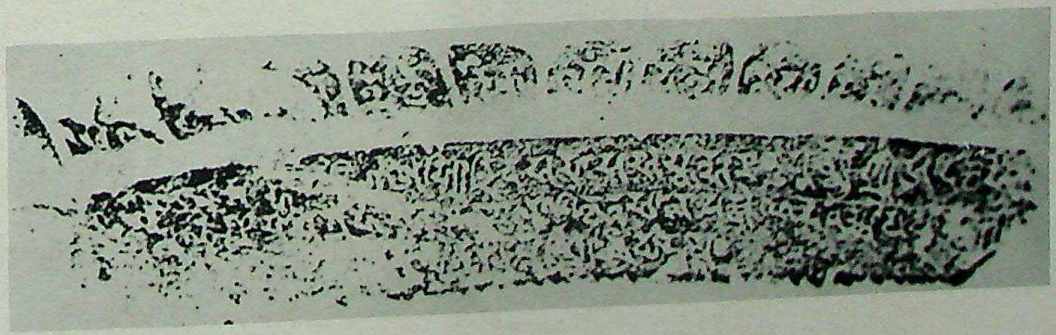

Plate XIII Shahpur Stone Image Inscription of Ādityasena

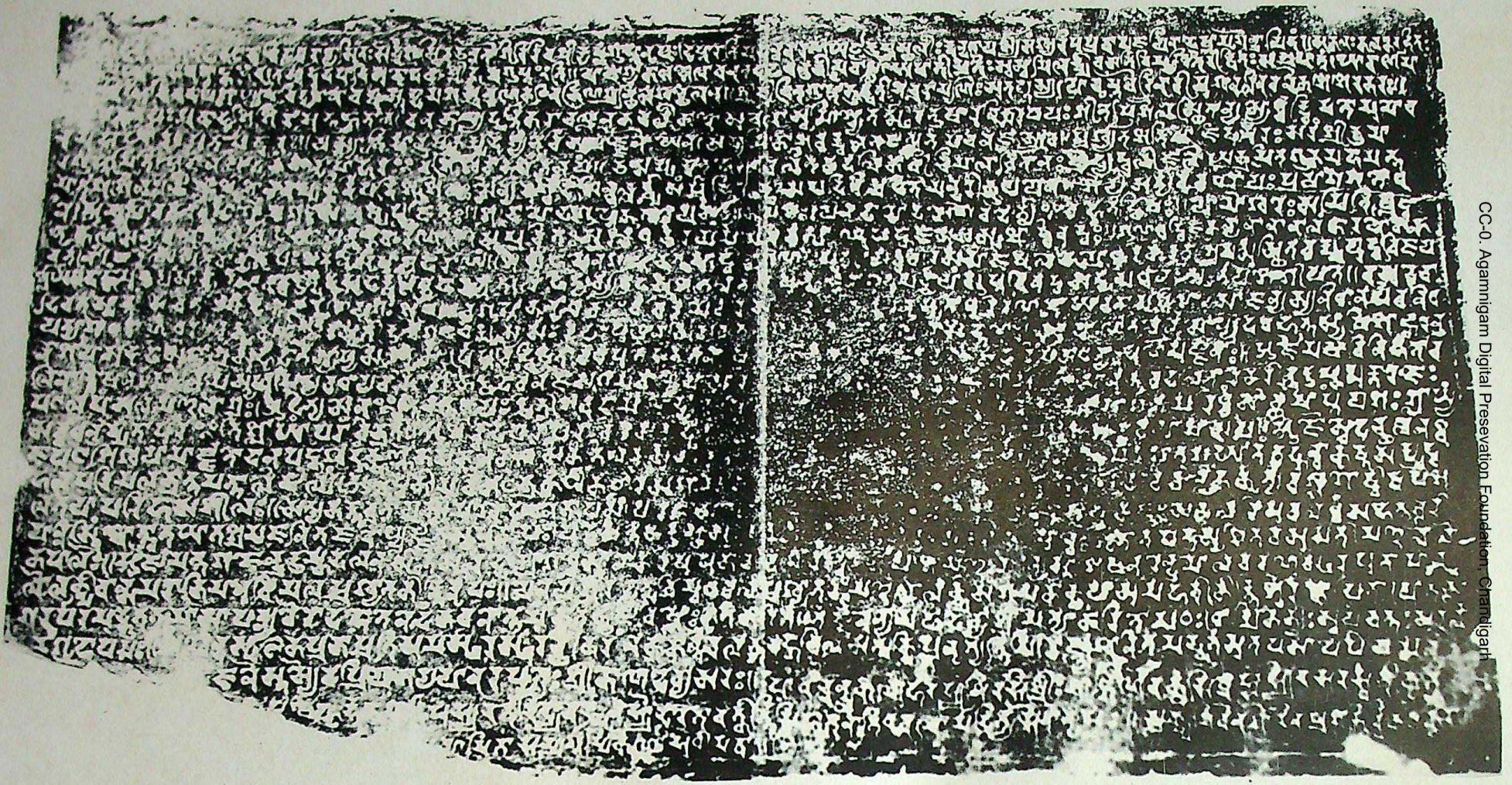

Plate XIV Aphsad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena

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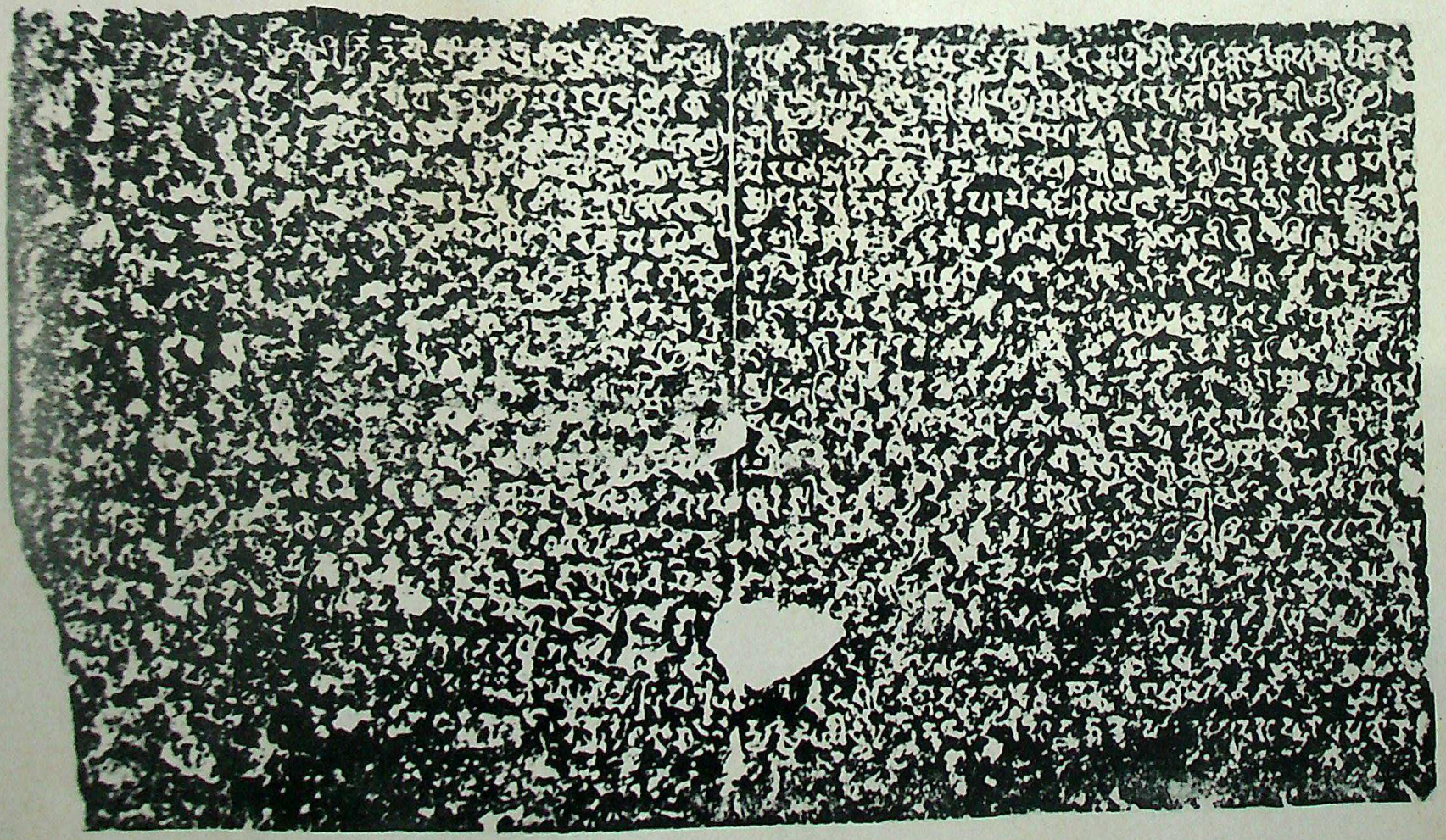

Plate XV Deo Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II

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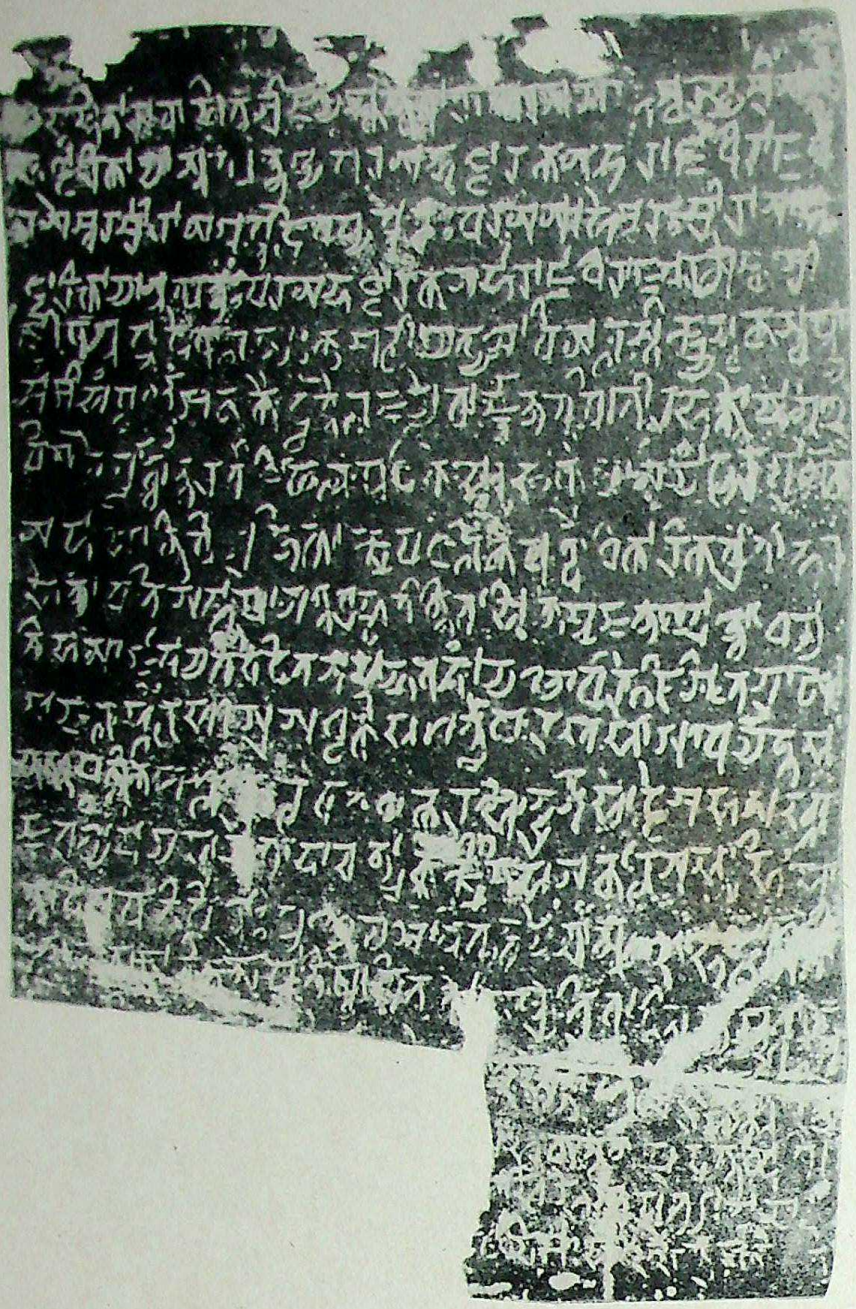

Plate XVI Katra Copper-plate of Jīvagupta

Plate XVIA Katra Copper-plate Inscription of Jīvagupta (back side of the plate illustrated under *Plate XVI*)

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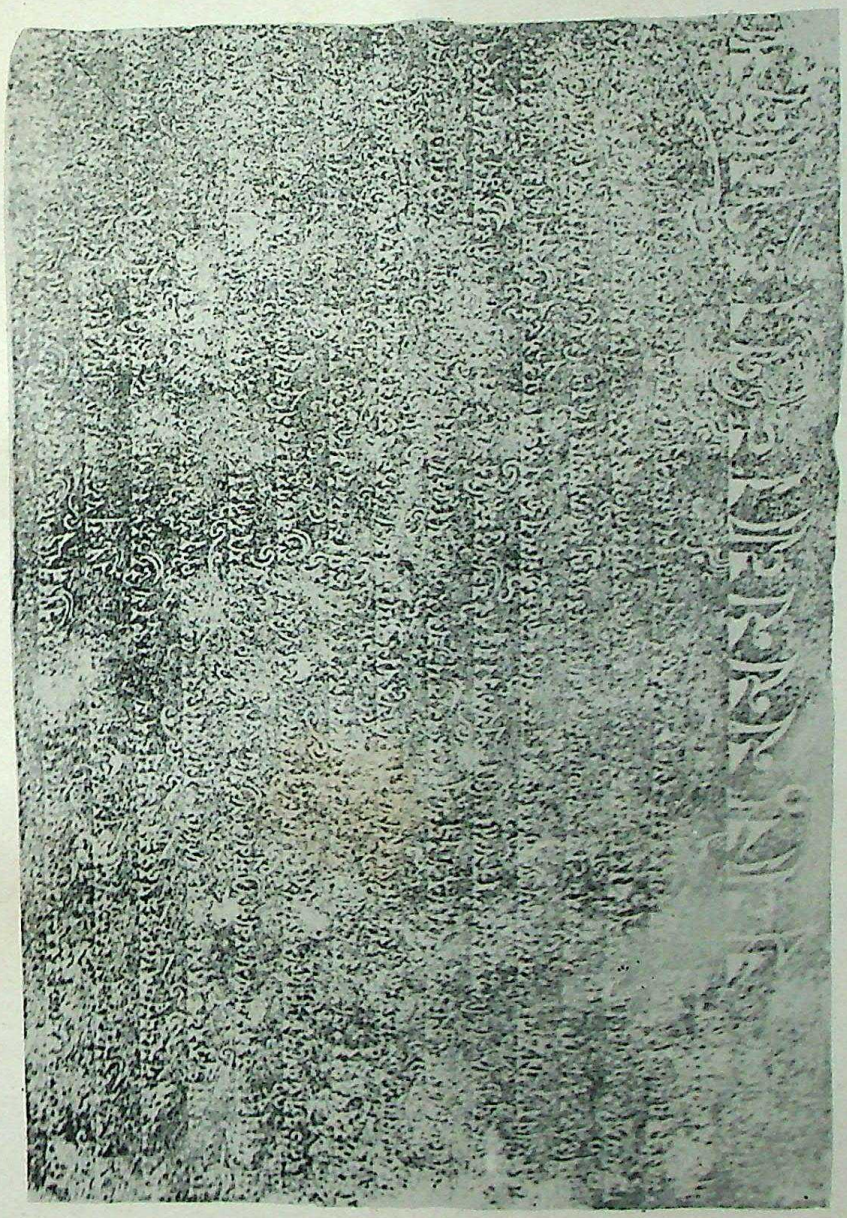

Plate XVII Banskhera Copper-plate Inscription of Harṣa.

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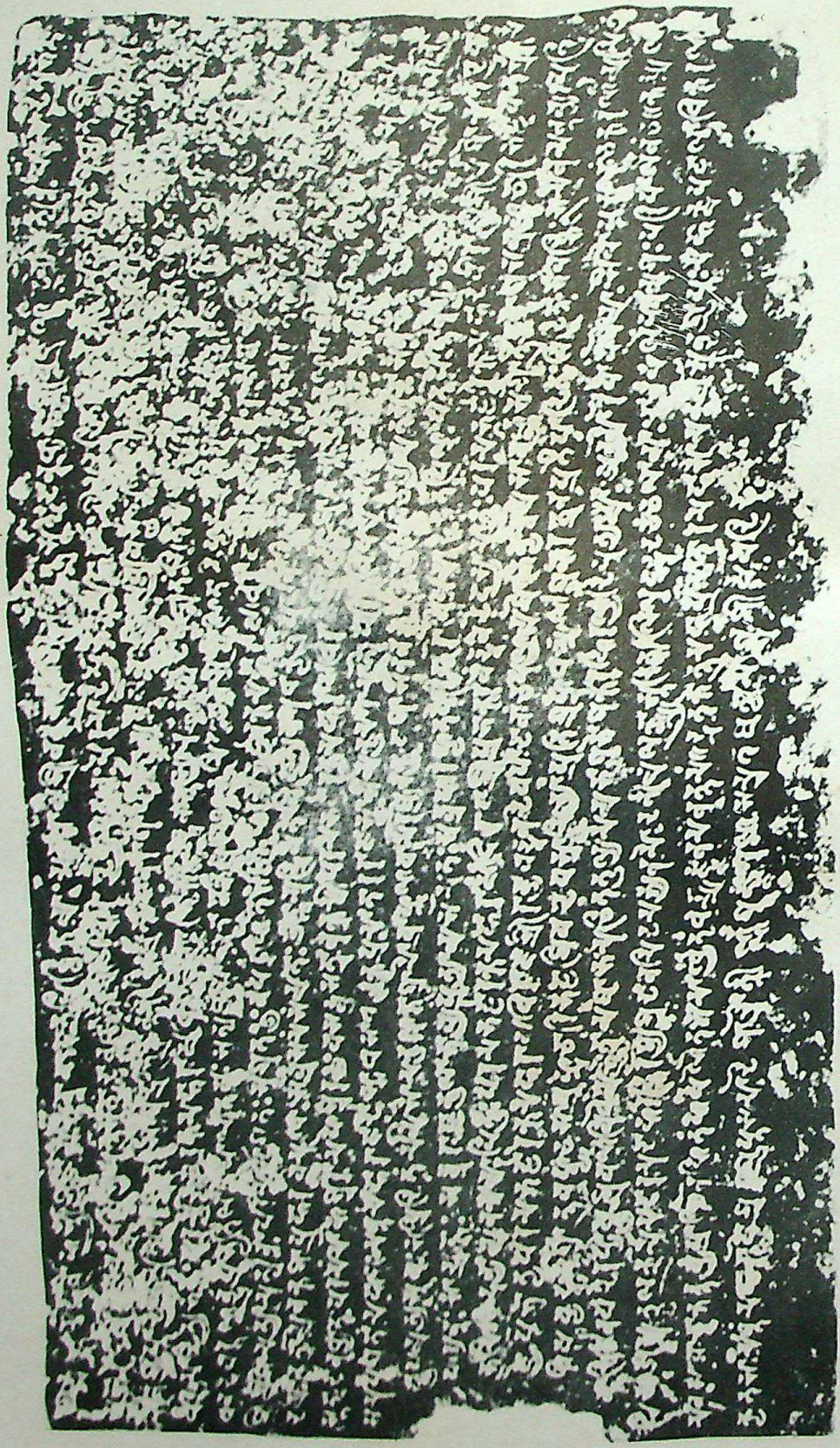

Plate XVIII Madhuban Copper-plate Inscription of Harṣa

Plate XIX Nalanda Clay Seal of Harṣa.

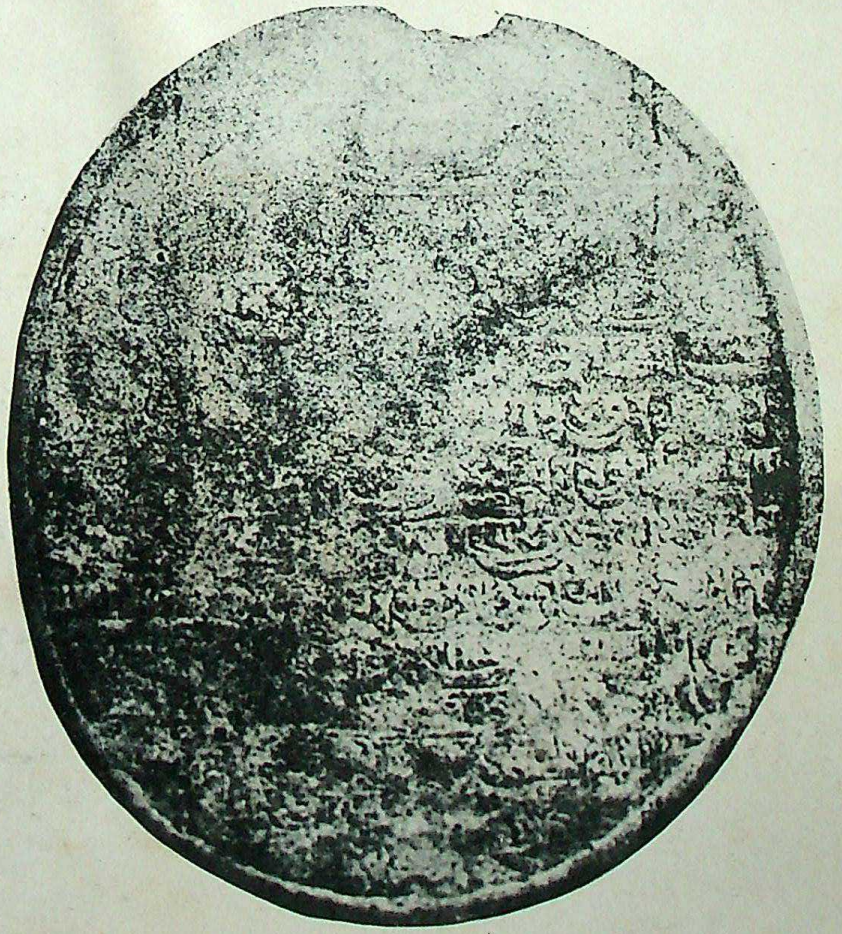

Plate XX Sonpat Copper Seal of Harṣa

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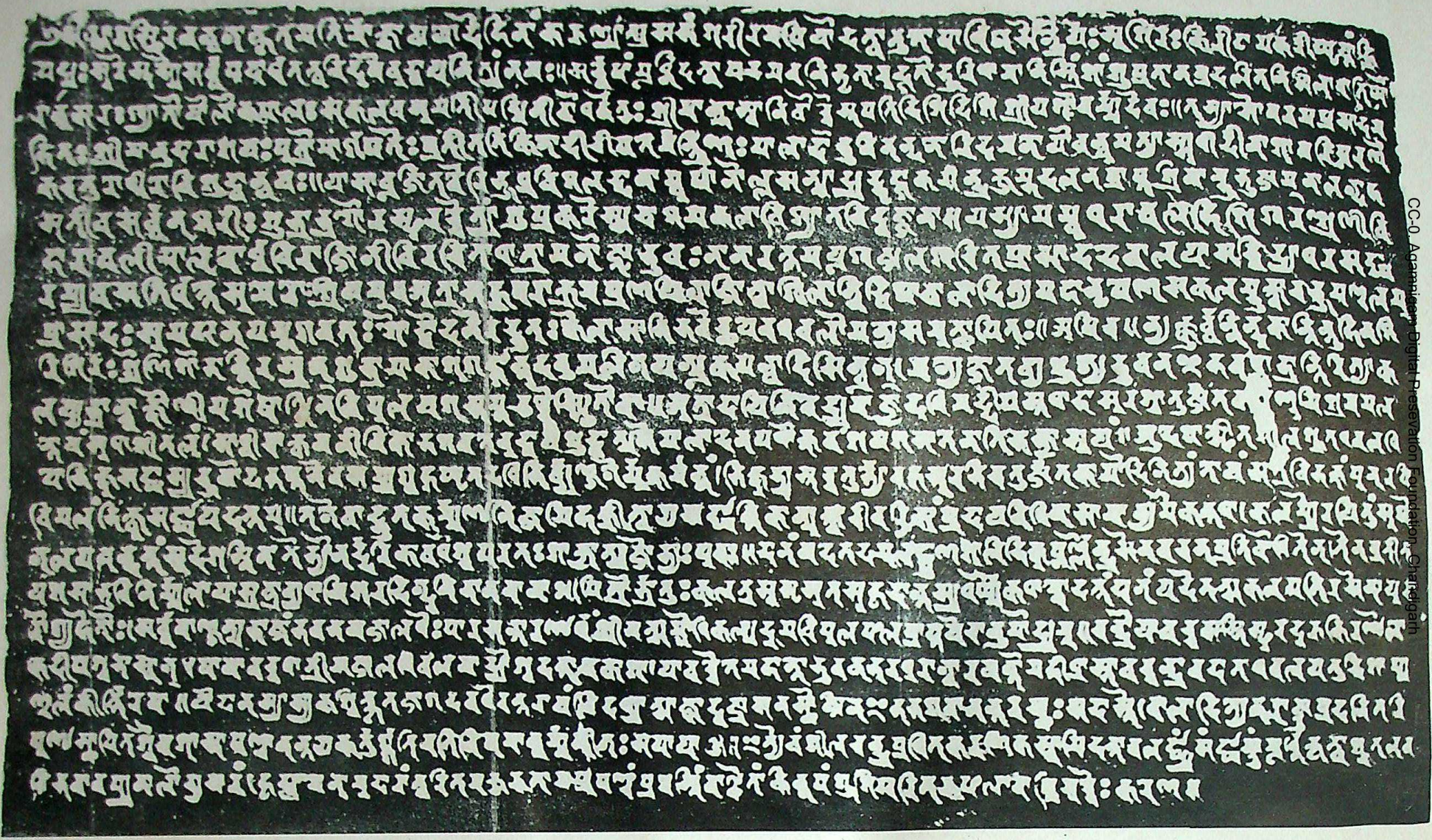

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Plate XXI Nalanda Stone Inscription of Yasovarman.

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